

M E M O I R S
OF THE
P R E S E N T S T A T E
OF THE
Court and Councils
O F
S P A I N.

In Two Parts.

With the true Reasons why this Vast Monarchy, which in the last Century made so considerable a Figure in the World, is in this so Feeble and Paralytick.

Done into *English* by T. Brown.

Utile Dulci.

L O N D O N,

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The Epistle Dedicatory.

T O

His Honest Friend

Mr. WILLIAM PATE,

Of London, Woollen-Draper.

I Know no occasion wherein all sorts of People have taken greater liberty, than in their Dedications, both in regard of the Persons to whom the Complement is made, and of the things that are usually said in them. All Authors pretend to disclaim flattery upon these subjects, and yet were Historians to draw Great Men according as they are represented in Dedications, abundance of Persons would pass with Posterity for men of wit, who never made a jest in their lives, and for honest Patriots, who were only mere Fripons at the bottom; but tho most Authors are agreed to wheedle and flatter in their Dedications, yet I see they are not so well agreed in the choice of their Patron; some have chose whole Corporations, or Societies for this Office, and indeed this conduct would be politick enough, if the Parties, who are concerned in the Dedication were obliged to espouse the Author's quarrel; others have gone a step further, and Dedicated their Books to the respective Countries where they live; and lastly, some of a more Universal spirit, have offered them to the whole World in general, without any restrictions or limitations, as it consists of the four known Parts, Europe, Asia, Africk and America, and comprehends persons of all sorts and characters, those that can read as well as those that cannot, and those that have a Religion as well as those that have none

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at all. But the generality of Writers decline this course of Dedication, because Bodies Politick, and Countries, and the World it self, as large as it is, seldom reward the Author, for, as we say, what is every mans business, is no mans business, and therefore they generally make choice of particular persons, and those for the greatest part of the best Estates and Fortunes; not because an Illustrious name gives any better protection to a Book than a Meaner would do, altho this is always pretended, but because such Persons are best able to reward an Author, and consider him for his incense. As I never knew a bad Book sell a farthing the better for having a gaudy Title prefixed to it, so a good one never fared the worse because it appeared without a fine FIOCCO: For in short, if the world has a mind to be censorious, a Person of Quality's name is as feeble an Amulet against the Criticks, as a Silver Horseshoe nailed upon a threshold would be against Witchery and Possession; for I am of opinion, that an Horseshoe made of Iron is full as powerful a preservative as the other. Now I had two reasons, Mr. Pate, to address the following Translation to your self, the first is because you are my Friend, with whose entertaining learned Conversation I have been often diverted, and the next is, because I can approach you without any of that Ceremony and Fineness, which uses to embarras a young Author so much, when he addresses himself to Quality, where, as he is obliged to say several things against his Conscience, so he cannot assume that familiarity and openness, which makes all sorts of Discourses agreeable. However I would not have you think, that I am so unreasonable as to desire you to stand Surety, or (what in a few years will become a scandalous word with us) God-father to my Translation, because I am sensible there are several faults in it, nor to stand up for the Author of this Epistle, for then you must resolve to combat all comers and goers: All I require of you is
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that if any of your acquaintance should enquire either after the Book or the Translator, you would only tell them that the Book gives a good account of a certain Prince's Court, who at this present writing is gazed at by all Europe, and that the Translator is a very honest Fellow, who between a little French and less Latin makes a shift to get a sorry Livelihood.

I have been often reproached, and particularly by your self for sitting idle a whole year, and writing nothing of my own; now tho I must confess a certain party amongst us has given us almost daily provocations to encounter them, yet I find they are a generation that are never to be edified by Satyr, and indeed all wholesome advice is effectually lost upon them. Suppose you or I should tell honest Mr. Partridge yonder of Covent-Garden, that it was not civilly done of him to leave the Thirtieth of January, Good-Friday, and the Twenty ninth of May all at a clap out of his Almanack, and that John Gadbury and he may now shake hands together, like a couple of Bigotted Rascals as they are, perhaps another year, (as who knows how far a turbulent Reformer's zeal may carry him) he will leave us never an Apostle in the Calendar, to the utter confusion of the poor People in the Country, who make no other use of the Apostles, but only to direct them to the next Horse-race or Fair. To say the truth, we have too many ridiculous follies, and divisions amongst us ever to be cured by writing, which puts me in mind of what Mr. Burgess, who has made all the Town merry with his Preaching, said lately upon this Argument: We Englishmen, crys he, have been famous in all ages for our Wars and Jars, and strife and life, and so forth: Why, what do you think Virgil said of you sixteen hundred years ago? *Even Penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos*, i. e. the Britains are the most divided people in the whole world. Thus you see, Mr. Pate, what little encouragement a
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man has to write, since it is so unlikely that he should ever cure any of those distempers that are so inveterate in our Climate, but I have a more particular reason still behind, which obliges me to sit a spectator, and purely respects my self; for as I have had the ill luck to displease the Moderate Party by attacking the merits of the Comprehension in my Dialogue, so I have fallen under the indignation of the Criticks by being too profuse and lavish of my Similies. As for the first I have nothing to say to them, because they are a sort of Gentlemen, to whom I never designed to make my Court, and as for the last, before I go about to justify my self, I will tell you a short Story. I happened some years ago to make a Visit to an honest decayed old Captain in Alsatia, and his Chamber was a perfect Wilderness: Pipes and Napkins, and ends of Candles, and old Cloaks were jumbled all together, but what was most remarkable a Loaf and a Cheese lay upon his Close-stool. I asked him the reason of it, and the Captain honestly told me that he did it only for want of room. And this Mr. Pate was my own Case exactly, for there were several Persons in the world for whom I had a kindness, and these for want of a better convenience I was often forced to throw into a Simile, and to say the truth, some of them were such sad wretches that they did not deserve to have a Paragraph bestowed upon them.

But now to speak a word or two in behalf of these Memoirs, I am in good hopes they will be favourably received, because they give us a true Idea of the Spanish Court, with which the generality of men amongst us, are utterly unacquainted, and lastly because they provide an agreeable entertainment to all sorts of people: For here is Rain and Sun-shine, and Earthquakes and Shows, and Masquerades, and Processions, and the Lord knows how much History in Sippits to divert the
lous Admirers Stow and Hollenshead: And
then

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then for Persons of better Palates here are abundance of Political reflections, and judicious observations, with the true reasons how this vast Monarchy, which in the last Century made so considerable a figure in the world, is in this become so feeble and Paralytic. I will only take notice of one Instance among the rest to give you a true taste of this Author's Ingenuity. Don Juan, while the administration of affairs was lodged in his hands removed a poor Dominican from Salamanca (which place you know a certain Doctor who pretends he has received more stripes on his Back than St. Paul and all his Brethren did, has made remarkable in Story by the Chimerical Degree he took there) and made him the King's Confessor. He thought by this means to have secured the Monk for ever to his own Interests, and to have had a trusty Confident upon all occasions near his Majesty's Person: but he found himself mightily mistaken in his expectation, for this Beast of a Religious, soon abandoned his Patron's party, and herded amongst his profest Enemies. Some People, says this Author, pretend that he did it out of a Principle of Conscience, but as for my self I am of another opinion: It is impossible that Ingratitude should ever flow from any good Principle. I am sorry that this honest Doctrine is not in better Reputation with some People amongst us, for I am satisfied that no pretence whatever can atone for so black and ungenerous a Sin as Ingratitude is.

I should here, according to the laudable Custom of all Authors, take occasion to say something in your praise, but besides that I will not offer that Violence to your Modesty, I cannot handsomely commend you, for so great a variety of Learning in so much Youth, but at the expence of the City, and you know I have too great a respect for our Honourable Metropolis to do any thing of that nature, or indeed without a reproach to our selves, who cannot pretend such excuses, as the perpetual

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tual distractions of Trade and Business. Indeed if your good fortune in the world prove answerable to your merits, you may for all I know dye a richer man than Gresham or Sutton : But I must tell you, my dear Friend, that good Fortune and Merit are two as different things as any are in the world. I knew a Gentleman who made a pleasant remark upon this occasion. I have, said he, in my time laid out for two things, viz. Preferment and a Red Nose, with as much zeal and applicaiton as any man in Town. To attain the last I have dutifully drank my Gallon of Claret every night, and a dull sober Sot, a Neighbour of mine, with his single penurious Pint has arrived to it before me : and as for the former I have wearied out my Patience in waiting at Court, and at Noblemens Levees, and yet could never stumble upon any ; and so he concluded that several men come by Preferment and Red Noses, who never deserved either of them.

After all, Mr. Pate, if my wishes will do you any good, I wish you store of Customers, but never a Poet, or Courtier, or disbanded Captain, or Player amongst them all. May I be so fortunate as to behold you advanced to the highest Pinacle of honour in the City, to furnish new matter for Elkanah Settle's Triumphs of London, to sentence light Butter and Bread on Horseback, to terrify Sabbath-breakers, and those that forget to hang out their Lights, to appear in the next Edition of Baker or Stow, and arrive to the Priviledge of sleeping in your Gold Chain at Guildhall Chappel. In short, may you be the wealthiest happiest man within the Bills of Mortality, and may you ever continue to love

Your Friend and Servant,

T. Brown.

AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE
COURT
OF
SPAIN.

WE must not expect to find in a general History those particular Relations of things, that usually entertain the Reader better than the History it self: but when any person is once acquainted with them, he often reflects upon them with a great deal of Pleasure. I imagine I may without any flattery pretend my self capable of writing several secret Passages, that happened at *Madrid* from the year 1679, to the year 1681. However I think it not amiss to begin these Memoirs from the time of *Philip the IV.* in order to render the following Discourse more intelligible, and to give the Reader a better Idea of the Genius of the *Spanish* Court.

B

Elizabeth

Elizabeth of France, his Queen, being dead, he espoused *Mary Ann* of Austria, Daughter of the Emperor *Ferdinand*, and Sister of him that reigns at present. She was young, of a fair flaxen complexion, her humour was lively and pleasant, and she was no less agreeable than witty.

She departed from *Vienna*, in order to go to *Spain* in the year 1649. She loved the Arch-Duke her Brother very affectionately, and as both of them were weeping when they took their leave of one another, she demanded of him what lay in her power to do for his service: My dear Sister, says he, it lies in your power to have an Infanta there, which you may give to me in marriage. This accident is so much the more observable, because the Arch-Duke having at that time an Elder Brother, who died afterwards King of the *Romans*, and being himself designed for the Ecclesiastic State, there was little probability that he should ever arrive to the Empire, and marry, as it since fell out, the Eldest Daughter of the Queen his Sister.

Amongst several other persons, whom the Emperor gave the Queen his Daughter to accompany her into *Spain*, he chose Father *John Evarard Nitard*, a German Jesuit, to be her Confessor. His extraction was mean and obscure, and he employed almost all his thoughts in the advancing of his fortune. He was of a supple complaisant temper, he exactly studied the respective characters of those persons to whom he belonged, and took care never to differ much from them as to matters of opinion. He finished his Studies in the Jesuits College at *Vienna*, and there took upon him the Habit of his Order, and afterwards was sent to govern one of their Seminaries.

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Seminaries, in which Office he acquitted himself very well. When he came back again to *Vienna*, he began to make himself known in the world, and several Ladies of the Court desired him to be their Spiritual Director: they omitted no opportunity to do him all the good offices they could with the Emperor; and in fine, spoke in such advantageous Terms of him, that he was well enough contented to let the Queen take him along with her.

This Princess was extremely surprized at all the *Spanish* Customs, which those who came to wait upon her from the King, caused her to observe in the first Days of her Voyage. I have been told that as she arrived to a certain City under the Dominion of the King of *Spain*, where the principal Commodities of the place consisted in Frocks, Waistcoats and Silk Stockings; they made her a present of a great quantity of them, of different Colours: But her *Major Domo* who religiously observed the *Spanish* gravity, despised the present, and so taking up a Bundle of Silk Stockings, threw them at the heads of the Deputies of the Town.

Aveis de Saber, says he to them in a very furious Tone, *que las Reynas de Espagna no teinen piernas*, that is to say,

I would have ye to know that the Queens of Spain have no Legs; meaning, that they are so far elevated above others by vertue of their Rank, that they have no Feet to touch the Ground like the rest of their Sex. However it was, the young Queen, who was not as yet acquainted with the Niceties of the *Spanish* Language, took it in the literal Sense, and began to weep, saying 'that she was fully determined to go back to *Vienna*, and if she had known before her departure from thence that they design'd to cut

'off her Legs, she would rather have died, than
'stirred a Foot.

It was no difficult Matter to assure her of the contrary, and she continued her Voyage.

When she came to *Madrid* they told the King of this innocent Simplicity of his Queen, he was so mightily pleased at the Story, that he vouchsafed to laugh a little at it, and this was the most extraordinary thing in the world for him to do, for whether it proceeded from affectation, or was the effect of his Constitution, it was observed of him that he never laugh'd above thrice in all his Life.

The King show'd a great respect for Father *Nitard* because he was the Queen's Confessor, who repos'd an intire Confidence in him, but whatever desires she had to see him advanced, he left him peaceably in his post, without conferring any other Dignities upon him, and he had unquestionably continued a long time in the same condition, if the King had not hapned to die.

When that Prince found himself to be dangerously ill, and saw he could not bequeath the care of his Kingdoms to Cardinal *Sandoval*, upon whose Management of Affairs he always depended, because he was at that time extremely sick, and to say the truth, died but 20 hours after him; he made his Will, wherein he ordered that the Queen his Spouse should be Regent of the Kingdom, and Governess of the young Prince, who was then four years and an half old, (a) he named the Cardinal of *Arragon*, Archbishop of *Toledo* and Inquisitor General; the Count of *Castrillo* President of *Castile*, the

(a) Since the time of *Dox Loys de Haro*. the Kings of *Spain* have had no *Privado* or chief Minister; The Duke of *Medina de las Torres* had the Management of the Northern Affairs, and the Count de *Castrillo* of the rest.

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Count de Penaranda, Don Cristoval Crespi Chancellor of Arragon, and the Marquis d' Aytona; to the end that these six Ministers should assist the Queen in her Councils; and thus the King died in the month of September 1665. (b)

The Queen resented the great Loss she sustained with abundance of Sorrow, but she had been still more sensible of it, if she had found her self in the Condition of the other Queens of Spain, who are obliged to enter into a Convent, when they are Widows, unless the King orders the contrary before his Decease; Nor was she insensible of the Sweets of Governing. The first use she made of her Authority, was in favour of Father Nitard: For Don Pascal of Arragon having been made Archbishop of Toledo and grand Inquisitor, in the place of Cardinal Sandoval, the Queen sent for him, and by her repeated importunities prevailed with him to quit the last of these two Dignities. (c) He could not be brought to comply with this Request without a great deal of trouble, for he almost chose rather to be Inquisitor General, than Archbishop of Toledo, although that Archbishoprick is worth 366 Thousand Crowns per annum.

But he was not able to refuse the Queen a thing she so passionately desired, who as soon as she saw her self in a capacity to dispose of that important Charge, bestow'd it upon her Confessor.

(b) The six Ministers that composed the Junta, were those that were or should be Archbishop of Toledo, the President of Castile, Vice-Chancellor of Arragon, and Inquisitor General. And besides these a Grandee of Spain, and a Counsellor of State.

(c) The Cardinal of Arragon being Grand Inquisitor, and afterwards named to the Archbishoprick of Toledo, quitted the post of grand Inquisitor, because he could not have two places in the Junta.

As she engaged her self in this Affair of her own proper Inclination, without consulting any thing else but the desire she had to see him made superior to the other Ministers, so she took occasion to discourse of it to them, who immediately began to murmur amongst themselves.

They read over the will of the late King, where they found it expressly ordered that the Queen should do nothing without consulting their advice, and notwithstanding all this precaution of the deceased, they saw with no little concern that she had without ever communicating the matter to them, disposed of one of the most considerable Offices in the Kingdom and that to a meer Stranger, who had been born and bred up in the (d) Lutheran Religion till he was 14 years of Age. The desire they had to preserve their own Authority, and the jealousy which is natural for all Men to have of a Favourite, made them speak very fiercely in the matter: However the Queen being informed of their discontent, took the true Measures to appease them. The charming Manner of her Deportment, and particularly the obliging things she spoke to them upon this occasion, prevailed with them to lay aside their Murmurs, so they agreed to dispatch Letters of Naturalization for the Confessor, without which it was impossible for him to execute the Office the Queen had given him.

Altho all those difficulties that at first threatened to hinder the Elevation of Father *Nitard*, were removed without any great Trouble, yet he did not fail to raise several secret Enemies upon

(d) Altho 'tis very true that he had been formerly a Lutheran and it was objected to him, yet he vehemently denied it, because it might have made him incapable of that Office.

himself, who envied his growing Fortune. They beheld with great Disdain and Impatience the extraordinary Confidence that the Queen reposed in him, for she determined nothing without advising with him, and so great was his Credit, and Interest with her that he durst offer to resolve things of the greatest Importance, without speaking a word about them to the Queen.

Don Juan was one of those that was the most offended at the Advancement of *Father Nitard*: He was sensible that they would turn him out of all by little and little, upon this Score he gave way intirely to the Father Confessor, whom the Q. had made Counsellor of State; he then retired to *Consuegra* the ordinary Residence of the Grand Prior of *Castile*, of the order of *Malta*, and said very imperiously, 'that after he had seen himself President of the Privy Council of the King his Father, he could never endure a Companion that was so much his Inferior. But the Queen who was wholly busied in advancing her chief Minister, never disquieted her self with thinking what Reflections People might make upon him, so that without taking the least notice of *Don Juan's* discontent, she suffered him to depart, and he continued a long time without visiting the Court, until the Queen sent him particular Orders at *Aranjuez*, whither he was gone to divert himself, to come immediately for *Madrid* upon some important Affairs, which she was willing to communicate to him.

He was the natural Son of King *Philip IV.* and a certain Actress whose name was *Maria Calderona*. He was privately brought up at *Ocana* near *Madrid*, and of all the natural Sons that King had, he only acknowledged him, whether it were because he loved his Mother better than any of his other Mistresses (and to say the

truth she was the most charming person in the World) or because Count *d' Olivarez* procured this good Fortune for him; for 'tis commonly given out that the Count had a Son named *Don Julian de Gusman*, whom he had a mind to own, and therefore used this Artifice of perswading the King to begin with *Don Juan*, that so he might follow his Example.

Whatever the matter was, *Philip* loved this young Prince very tenderly, altho some people suspected he was the Son of the Duke of *Medina*, of the House of *Gusman*, who had formerly been passionately in love with the young *Calderona*, and was in his time the most accomplish'd handsom Cavalier in *Spain*, and *Don Juan* very much resembled him. But if some persons were of this Opinion, others could never believe it, especially when they considered the great kindness and fatherly affection that the King had for him, and besides reflected upon his extraordinary good Qualities, which declared him to be worthy to be the Son of so great a Monarch. He was brave even to a Contempt of all Dangers whatever, gallant and agreeable, well-shaped, obliging, liberal, and a person of great Honour; he had abundance of Wit, and was Master of a Genius that extended it self to all Arts and Sciences. As there is ne're a Court in *Europe* where natural Sons are treated with such advantageous Distinctions as they are in *Spain*, so this Prince could scarce perceive that the unhappiness of his Birth did in the least prejudice his Advancement; and 'tis indeed a certain truth, that we see in this Country, the legitimate Sons bred up with those that are not so in the same Father's house, without any Distinction between one and the other. But this Custom is not altogether observed with relation to the natural Sons of the Kings of *Spain*:
For

For example, they never bestow the title of *Infante* upon them, and *Don Juan* who passionately desired to have it, used his utmost efforts to accomplish it, but had not the fortune to succeed in his designs.

From the year 1643 the King had given him the Government of the *Low Countries* (e) of *Burgundy* and *Charolois*, and he always enjoyed it, excepting the time when the Arch-duce *Leopold* governed there.

Don Juan contributed very much towards the reducing the Kingdom of *Naples* to the Spanish Obedience: He took *Piombino* and *Portofino*, and in all his Campaigns he performed a World of Actions that equally testified his Bravery and Conduct.

The King his Father having conceived no less an esteem than Tendernefs for him, Communicated to him the most weighty Affairs of State, and chose him to be chief of an Assembly of the chief Ministers of his Kingdom.

He was scarcely arrived at *Madrid* but a Council was held, where he came to be informed that the King of *France* was resolved to espouse the interests of his Queen, to whom *Brabant* and some other states of the *Low Countries* escheated by right of Devolution, upon the Death of the Infant *Don Balthazar* her Brother; that his most Christian Majesty had published a Manifesto wherein he proved the Justice of his claim, and that not thinking himself obliged to consume any time in unprofitable Contestations, he had turned his Arms towards that side of the Country; that he had marched his Troops with incredible diligence, and made considerable con-

(e) He held as his proper Right the Government of the *Low Countries*.

quests as soon as ever he appeared. Upon a serious examination of the present state of the Monarchy, they were convinced that it was impossible at the same time to maintain War against *France* and *Portugal*, and that it was necessary for them to lay hold of a certain conjuncture that made a very plausible appearance; that *Don Alphonso* King of *Portugal*, having by his extravagant conduct lost the hearts of his People, was disposed of the Government, and his Subjects freed from the Allegiance they ow'd him; that the Infanta *Don Pedro* his Brother had taken upon him the Administration of Affairs; that things of this considerable importance could neither be begun nor ended without some disturbance, during which they must have occasion for their own Troops, and therefore if it was judged expedient they should lay hold of this opportunity to advance proposals for a Peace.

After every one had delivered his own opinion of the matter, the Queen came to this conclusion. A Letter was dispatched to the Marquiss *de Liche*, who was at that time Prisoner of War at *Lisbon*, wherein he had all necessary instructions given him. In fine, he managed the affair so dexterously, that the Regent *Don Pedro* listened favourably to the proposals, and so a Treaty of Peace was concluded on the 13th of *Jan.* 1668.

This News was entertained at *Madrid* with a great deal of satisfaction, because the affairs of *Flanders* grew every day worse and worse, and it was necessary to take some speedy measures to preserve it, or else to abandon it for good and all. New Levies of Soldiers were ordered in *Gallicia* and elsewhere, and the Queen cast her eyes upon *Don Juan* to send him thither to command the Troops; for besides that no Body was more capable of so great a Trust than he was, she had

had observed that during the little stay he made at *Madrid*, his Aversion to *F. Nitard* daily increased, and this reason alone was sufficient to incline her to resolve upon his Removal. She was not able to indure those biting Reflections which *Don Juan* by way of Raillery very Liberally bestowed upon the Father Confessor. One time among the rest when the Ministers demanded of him who was fit to send against the King of *France*. 'I am clearly of Opinion, says he, that we had best send Father *Nitard*, he is a Saint to whom Heaven can refuse nothing; the post wherein we behold him at present is an undeniable Proof of those miracles, which he can command upon all occasions.

The Confessor answered, with a very Melancholly Air, 'That he was of a Profession which taught him to hope every thing from the Divine Mercy, but that it did not belong to his Function to be a General of an Army. Oh my dear Father, replies *Don Juan*, and don't we see your Reverence every day Employed in things that are full as unsuitable to your Profession?

As I said before, it was resolved to send the Prince with the New Supplies to *Flanders*, and a Recruit of nine hundred thousand Crowns, with which they Furnished him out of the Silver that was brought in the Gallions.

Necessary Orders were likewise dispatched to *Cales*, and so the Admiral who had Charge given of this Sum, set Sail with eight Vessels, from thence at the same time when *Don Juan* was Marching towards the *Groyne*, where the Rendezvous was appointed to be.

The *French Fleet* Cruised upon the Coasts of *Gallicia*, and was Composed of 36 Vessels and 6 Fireships. *Don Juan* finding his Forces much Inferiour to the Enemy was not willing to hazard all in a Fight, where in all probability he could not

not avoid a total Defeat. Therefore he thought it more advised to send his Troops in small Bodies to *Flanders*, where they arrived without any Danger.

The formidable Power of his most Christian Majesty not only alarm'd the *Spaniard*, but the *English* and *Dutch*, who after a bloody War at last concluded a Peace at *Breda* in 1667. and having ceast from all Acts of Hostility towards one another, entred into a League, in the beginning of 1668. to oblige the King of *Spain* to accept of one of the two alternatives proposed by the King of *France*, who still persisted in his Offers.

After their Example the Archbishop of *Triers*, the Duke of *Bavaria*, the Elector *Palatine*, and Duke *Ernest Augustus* of *Brunswick* Bishop of *Osnabruck*, concerted their Resolutions for the common Safety, and made a League, whereby they obliged themselves to endeavour the adjusting the differences between *France* and *Spain*, or else to declare War against either of the two Crowns that should refuse their Mediation, and act against the Treaty. The Pope likewise entred into the League, and a Peace was concluded at *Aix la Chapelle*.

But these things were not so speedily determined, but that other matters of consequence happened at *Madrid* and other places. which strangely perplexed those persons that were interested and concerned in them. *Don Juan* as was before mentioned, was at *Corogne* upon the point of imbarquing himself, when he received certain Informations of the Death of *Joseph Malades* a Gentleman of *Arragon* whom he entirely loved. It was told him to his unexpressible Amazement, that he had been secretly arrested at *Madrid* about eleven a clock at Night; and that by

by an order of the Queen written by her own hand, he was strangled two hours after. The great care they took to keep this execution private only contributed to make it spread the faster, and it was not doubted but that the Queen sacrificed this unfortunate Gentleman to the security of her Confessor.

Don Juan was extremely concerned at the Tragical Death of a person whom he loved so well, and yet more enraged at the injury which he imagined himself to have directly received from *Father Nitard*, resolved not to go to *Flanders*. 'They would never have exposed me to the puissance of the most Christian King, (says he to *Don Diego de Valasco*, for whom he had an extraordinary Affection) but only with a design to compleat my Ruine. They will certainly take care to keep back those Succours from time to time, of which I shall stand in need, and whatsoever good Conduct I may use in the Management of the War, there is no Question to be made, but that they will make me answerable for all the ill Success we meet with. You see I am now at the Port, and yet they have executed a Man who was guilty of no other Crime than of wearing the Character of my Friend. What will they do then if I were once in *Flanders*, all my Friends would undoubtedly find themselves exposed to the Malice and Hatred of the new Favourite.

He searched the most plausible Pretences he could think of, to excuse his going for *Flanders*. For some days he feigned himself to be indisposed, and sent word to the Queen that he was troubled with a Defluxion on his Breast, that the Physicians had made him apprehend the fatal Consequences of it if he undertook so long a Voyage, and therefore he beseeched her to dispense

pense with him. An Alteration so little expected made a great Noise at Court, and gave no small Mortification to her Majesty and Father *Nitard*. They easily guessed at the Cause, and if they had imagined the Prince was no farther off, perhaps they had not Sentenced *Malladas* to die so soon. The Queen ordered *Don Juan* to resign his employ to the Constable of *Castile*, who was to go to *Flanders* in his room, and also Commanded him to go immediately to *Consuegra*, without Presuming to come nearer than 20 Leagues of *Madrid*, which he accordingly Obey'd. But it seems this Obedience was not enough to satisfy the Queen's Indignation, who was so Exasperated at him, that in *August* 1668. she carried into the Council with her own Hands a Decree against the Prince; wherein she represented to them 'the Disobedience he had shown at so pressing a Juncture, and 'the Reasons which ought to have Obliged him 'to set Sail, altho' the Indisposition he pretended 'had been really True; that a Lye from a Subject 'to his Sovereign was always thought Worthy 'of the highest Punishments, and especially under such important Circumstances.

Don Juan was informed of all that this Decree contained against him, and he was the more sensibly concerned at this ill Usage, since he had Trespas'd so much upon Moderation, in not making a louder Complaint of the Death of *Malladas*.

The Man that served altogether to estrange his Inclinations from the Queen, was a Captain, whose name was *Don Petro de Pinilla*, who having asked leave to speak with the Queen, threw himself at her Feet, and Entertained her an hour in Private without any Bodies knowing what he said to her. It is not doubted by what happened afterwards but that he discovered something of Importance against

Don Bernardo Pategno, Brother to *Don Juan's* chief Secretary, because he was seized the next Morning with 2 of his Servants. These Informations were kept so Secret that no one knew the Matters they contain'd. The Marquis *de Salinas*, Captain of the *Spanish* Guards, received Orders from the Queen to Post away with fifty of the reformed Officers, and Arrest the Prince at *Consuegra*; but altho' he used the utmost diligence in this Affair, yet he was not able to find him. That, as it happened, did not prove Unlucky to him, for *Don Juan* had about him at that time a great number of his Friends and Domesticks, who would all have hazarded their Lives to preserve him from being taken; but by his great Prudence he avoided the Exposing any single Man of them, for being Advertised of what had passed he withdrew in time, and only left a Letter behind him to the Queen, dated *Octob. 21.* wherein he spoke to her with greater Liberty than he had hitherto used. He there takes an occasion to acquaint her, 'That he would have 'certainly gone for *Flanders*, if it had not been 'for the Surprizing and Tragical Death of his 'Friend *Malladas*; that he had all the reason in 'the World to believe that Father *Nitard* was the 'Instrument and Author of it; that so horrid an 'Injustice cried out aloud for Vengeance against 'the Man that had committed it; that he found 'himself possess'd with an earnest Desire to contri- 'bute what lay in his Power towards the removal 'of so Wicked a Man; that he humbly Beseeched 'her both for the good of the Kingdom in gene- 'ral, as also for her Majesties Glory to consent to 'his Banishment; that he hop'd he should never 'be constrained to have recourse to any other 'Methods than those of Prayer to chase him out 'of that place, where his Presence was become 'Odious

odious to all the World; that he found himself obliged to go and seek a Sanctuary against the Violences of this Stranger, and that this was a cruel necessity for a Person of his Quality; that he hoped her Majesty would be pleased to make serious Reflections upon the whole, and apply necessary Remedies accordingly.

The Reading of this Letter awakened all the Resentment and Indignation that the Queen had naturally to *Don Juan*: She flew into the greatest Passion imaginable, and had made it appear in a terrible manner, if the Grandees and People had not testified less Inclination for her. 'Twas a new Subject of Displeasure to the Queen and Father *Nitard* to see that all the World agreed to set themselves free from his Ministry, and that they had the hardiness to tax him publicly with the murder of *Malladas*, and the imprisonment of *Patigno*.

This obliged the Queen to set forth a Declaration, wherein she assured the World that both those persons came to *Madrid* to execute the wicked Designs of *Don Juan*, that she was fully inform'd of the whole by their own proper Confession, and that she had never proceeded so far as to take away *Malladas*'s life if she had not been assured of his Crime.

At the same time Father *Nitard* printed and published a sort of an Apology, in which he accuses *Don Juan* with having frequently endeavour'd to assassinate him; he spoke of this design as a thing beyond Contest, and declared his own innocence with relation to the Death of *Malladas*, and the imprisonment of *Patigno*. He pretended to give an undeniable Proof of this Assertion, in alledging that when the former was strangled, he was saying over his Breviary along with Frier *Bustos*; and that when the second was arrested, he

was

was setting his Papers in order in his Cabinet. Then he took occasion to enlarge upon the Nobleness of his Birth, and upon the considerable Services which his Ancestors had done for the Emperours. This Article only served to set People on work to Examine the Obscurity of his Family. He Addressed this writing to the Queen, and she for her part forgot nothing that might make his Attestation be the better believed.

Some time after she presented to the Council a second Complaint against the Prince, charging him with having had his Nativity Calculated in *Flanders*; in which 'twas easie to discover the high and mighty expectations with which he fed his Ambition. That such an insufferable Curiosity had been always Punished as a Crime of High Treason, that it was not only necessary to Examine the Fault, but also the Quality of the Person that committed it, that the debate was about a Man of Design, who could by no means pretend to Sin out of Ignorance; and an ungrateful rebellious Subject loaded with Favours and Rewards by the Crown; that it was absolutely requisite to Chastise him, for fear lest a connivance should Authorize his wicked Designs, and put him in a Capacity of accomplishing them.

The Prince had too many Friends, not to find some amongst them who had the Courage to Defend him; there was scarce any thing to be seen in all manner of company but multitude of writings, the bitterness of which only served to animate the interested Parties, and make them more Inveterate.

Those that appear'd in behalf of *Don Juan*, maintained that he was Incapable of forming so mean and low a Design as that of Assassinating Father *Ni-*
ard; that if it had ever entred into his Imagination, the Execution of it could have been no difficult

Matter; that the difference was only about a Stranger of an Ecclesiastic, without Friends or Relations, supported by a Queen who ought to have abandoned him to Vengeance, when she was informed of his wicked Conduct; that the best Proof one can bring to shew that the Prince had no inclination to do any such thing was, because it was not done; that far from endeavouring to take him off Privately, he had demanded in publick to have him removed from his Ministry, and that for attempting his removal, he exposed himself to all the Indignation of the Queen: That at the bottom, Father *Nitard* would have no reason to complain of his ill Usage, since he was permitted to retire with the Punishment only of a Pension of 60000 Crowns *per annum*, which he has hitherto enjoyed, besides some other Private Benevolences that don't appear; that so considerable a Revenue one would think might Content the Ambition of a simple Ecclesiastic; who was himself of so Vindicative a Nature, that he would fain have Assassinated the Prince at *Barcelona* and *Consuegra*; that it was not the Effect of any particular resentment which made *Don Juan* Press the Queen so earnestly to send him home to his own Country, being generous enough to forget any Private Injuries; but that he was too good a Subject to bear any longer with a Man, whose rash and violent Counsels might some time or other prove the occasion of a general Revolution in the Kingdom of *Spain*. To this they added several other things, which I shall pass over in silence.

The Court and the City were divided upon this Point, every one engaging himself in the Affair, either as his own Sentiments led him, or as he was Influenced by the Reports of others. Nay the Court Ladies entred into the quarrel, and

and for a Distinction of the Party they embraced, some were called *Austrians*, and others *Nitardines*.

Thus I have given you a Relation of what past at *Madrid*, during the time that *Don Juan* kept himself at a distance from it, and approached to *Barcelona*. The Queen was Ignorant what way he took, and her Disquietudes doubled upon her, when she considered with her self what dangerous Effects an Affair of this Nature might carry along with it, especially seeing it began with so much Heat. When he was Arrived there he writ a very respectful Letter to the Queen, but did not conceal the Resolution he had taken, to Demand of her constantly the removal of her Confessor; he advised her to it with very forcible Reasons, but they only provoked her the more against him, and she could never suffer her self to be perswaded, that she ought to deprive her self of the Man in whom she reposed so intire a Confidence, and for whom she preserved so great an Affection. 'She found that *Don Juan* meddled with an Affair she had no Inclination to, 'and that since the Council which the late King 'had Assigned her, could find nothing to except 'against the Father's Conduct, she was not obliged 'to gratifie an Aversion, which the Prince had so 'unjustly entertained against him; that it would 'be for her Glory, to Testifie to the World the 'firmness of her Mind in this Rencounter; and 'that if she Abandoned her Servants at the first 'Chimerical Objections that were raised against 'them, it would be a dangerous Matter for any one 'to serve her. In fine, the extream desire she had to keep Father *Nitard* with her, furnished her with such specious Reasons, that no Body durst Combat them.

The Father on his Part knew not where to turn himself, he was pleased without Question to

see himself beloved and protected by so great a Queen, and to enjoy an absolute Power next to her; but on the other hand, he was not without sensible Emotions when he considered what an Enemy he had to deal with: He was apprehensive of being poysoned or assassinated, and tho the Council had not as yet spoken against him, yet he was not ignorant that he was but ill beloved by all the Ministers. And that if ever it was his Fortune to be turned out, the greatest Part of the Grandees would commend the Courage and Constancy of *Don Juan*. These Reflexions so palled his Spirits, that he often went and threw himself at her Majesty's feet, with Tears in his Eyes, humbly to beg the favour of her to suffer him to depart: but she always assur'd him of the Continuance of her Protection, and forbade him any more to mention that thing, which gave her so much Pain and Uneasiness.

The Prince did not content himself with writing to the Queen, but writ also to the chief Ministers, in such vehement Terms, that they evidently saw what it was he desired to do with the Father Confessor, and likewise that he would never depart from his Resolutions. He pray'd them to second him with her Majesty, and to represent to her, of what a mighty Consequence it would be to the State, to send this Stranger home.

These Letters mightily augmented the Troubles of *F. Nitard*, his friends were afraid that *Don Juan* would betake himself to violent Methods, and his Enemies had the Satisfaction to consider that the Prince would employ his utmost Efforts to turn him out of *Spain*. But those that beheld the whole Scene calmly and without Passion, judged that the Queens Obstinacy and the Opiniatreté of *Don Juan*, would necessarily involve

involve the Kingdom in some great disorders, where every thing would be equally confounded. The Queen fell into the greatest Passion imaginable, whenever the matter was mentioned to her, and finding her person to be no where else in Safety, she order'd the Cavalry to come to *Pardo*, which is a Royal Palace within two Leagues of *Madrid*.

'Tis certain, that if she had had less Fears upon her, she had at that Moment declared *Don Juan* Rebel. She communicated this Design to her Father Confessor, who approved of this way of procedure well enough, but others that were consulted about it, oppos'd it with all their Might. They represented to her, 'That in case this was done, the Prince would no longer observe any Measures with her, that perhaps he waited for a favourable Pretence to declare himself; that he was brave in his own person, well beloved by his Friends, and besides had the people on his side; that less causes have occasioned great Revolutions; that there was nothing left but good Usage and Gentleness that could make him return to his Duty, or at least convince him that nothing had been omitted to inspire him with a true Sense of it. Altho this Advice was extremely opposite to the Queens Resentments, and by her good Will she would never have treated with a Prince, by whom she supposed her self to be injured, yet she was at last perswaded to follow this good Counsel. So she wrote a very obliging Letter to him, wherein she conjured him to return to *Consuegra*, and she engaged her Royal Word for the Security of his Person.

Don Juan made some Difficulty at first of obeying these Orders, whether it were, because he was apprehensive, as he told the Queen, of

putting himself into the Hands of Father *Nitard*, whom he had but lately escaped, or for some other reasons that are unknown: But the Duke *d' Ossone*, who was then at *Barcelona*, spoke to him with so much Zeal, and so vigorously Solicited him to obey her Majesty's Orders, that he submitted to his Reasons, and so departed with three Companies of Horse, which the Duke had given him for his Guard.

The Queen having received Advice of it, contrived to give him some Affronts upon the Road. She knew that he was to pass through *Arragon*, and therefore she writ to the States of that Kingdom to shew *Don Juan* no manner of Respect, nay, even to seek out some opportunities to disgust him; but herein she was ill obey'd. The States sent her word back again, that they could not dispence with themselves from Paying to the Son of the late King, and the Brother of their present Monarch, those Devoirs that were due to his Quality and Merits. To say the Truth, they acquitted themselves herein with the greatest Zeal; and when he approached *Saragossa*, all the Inhabitants went out above two Leagues to meet him on the way. The Press was so great that he had much ado to get through it, they cried all with one voice, *Let the King live, and the Lord Don Juan, let him always have the better of his Enemies, and Curses light on the Jesuit that Persecutes him.*

Every one scatter'd Flowers before him, such as the Season of the Year furnished them with, and sprinkled him with perfumed Waters; the Ladies better apparell'd than they used to be on the most Solemn Days, made a double Lane for him with their Coaches; the Air was filled with nothing but the Benedictions and Praises they bestow'd

bestow'd upon him: In a Word, the Joy was Universal in this great City.

The Queen and Father Confessor, who received a faithful Relation of the whole proceedings, were sensibly concerned, She to see the Contempt wherewith her Orders were Entertain'd, He to find himself so inveterately hated by the People.

The Report of *Don Juan's* extraordinary Reception spread it self as far as *Madrid*; and amongst several Persons that receiv'd it with Joy and Satisfaction, there were many that Apprehended some Disorder at the return of the Prince.

In Order to prevent those Evils that seemed to threaten them, the Regidors and other Magistrates of that City Assembled on the first of *February*. They sent four of their Body to the President of *Castile*, to represent to him the great mischief that might be occasioned by *Don Juan's* Arrival with his Troops, at a time when the Court was so weak, and the People so insolent and disposed for a Revolt; that notwithstanding the Prince was well Affectioned towards them, yet he would not be able to prevent the lamentable Effects they had reason to fear.

The President waited upon the Queen, and the Council immediately met, where it was ordered to dispatch a Courier to *Don Juan*, with her Majesty's Orders to send back his Guards without delay.

He received the Order, but hastened his March, making the Courier follow him two days, on the third he gave him a Receipt for his Order, and sent him back without any answer.

In the mean time that he delay'd the Couriers coming back, they were alarm'd at Court with the ill success of his Voyage, and their uneasiness

was much increas'd in the Palace, when they saw him sent back without any Letter. Some of the Lords went thereupon to find out the President, to desire him to tell the Queen, that they were ready to undertake any thing in the World for her Service. The Cavalry was drawn up together, and Preparations were making at *Madrid*, to sustain a Siege, the event whereof appeared very doubtful, altho they had to deal with a Prince who was only attended by 300 Horse.

'Twas in effect this Guard that occasioned the greatest trouble; the Queen ordered the Marquess *de Penalva* to assemble the reformed Officers together, with those that should offer themselves, to go upon this occasion, and tell the Prince, that her Majesty ordered him to send back the three Troops of Horse, he had brought along with him.

The Marquess *de Penalva* was disposed to obey, but he demanded an Order of the Council Royal, and the Secretary of State refused to expedite it, alledging that the Queen could do nothing without the Council of the Government, and that she had never consulted them about this Affair. The Queen being provoked, sent the Secretary word, 'That he ought seriously to consider what Difficulties he was going to start at so ill an Exigence, and how little they were to the purpose. The Cardinal *Arragon*, the Count *de Penaranda*, and the Vice-Chancellor came to wait upon her Majesty; they represented to her, that the Secretary was in the right, and gave the President of *Castile* a severe Reprimand for giving way by his Counsels to an Order that might have produced very evil Consequences.

They resolved at last not to take up Arms; and to dissipate the Apprehensions the people were

were under at *Madrid*, 'twas publickly proclaimed that *Don Juan* had sent back his Guards, or that if he had not done it as yet, yet he would send them back at the first warning.

The Queen having no hopes at all of seeing her self obeyed by force, betook her self to more gentle Methods, to try if she could by that Conduct oblige *Don Juan* to send back his Soldiers: She writ to him by *Don Diego de Velasco*, who was his great Confident, and the Letter was very courteous and civil.

The Prince, who came secretly to *Madrid* to discover the State of Affairs, the Dispositions of his Friends, and what he might be able to effect there, very resolutely sent the Queen word again, that there lay no Obligation upon him to expose himself to the Revenge of Father *Nitard*, therefore he positively demanded to have him turn'd out of the Kingdom; that after this were once done, none of all her Subjects should pay a more dutiful Submission to her Orders than himself.

This was to demand a thing of the Queen, which she had no manner of inclination to grant; The Nuncio *Borromée*, the Council of State, and the Grandees gave themselves a great deal of trouble to no purpose to adjust the matter. In the mean time the Prince appeared so firm in his Resolution, that all the World judged it would be very happy for the Confessor, if he could escape with his Life. He himself was sensible enough of the Danger he was in, so he redoubled his Importunities with the Queen to suffer him to depart. She returned him no answer but by her Tears and Sighs, in-somuch that he chose rather to expose his own Life to the utmost Extremity, than disoblige her by leaving her Service.

News arrived, that the Prince was come with his Troops to *Torrejon-dardos*, which is but four Leagues from *Madrid*. Those that were of the Queens party were mightily disquieted at it, and she her self was more afflicted than the rest. They heard her several times repeat these words, *Oh Heavens! this good Father will be the first Sacrifice.*

The Council of the Government met, and desired the Nuncio to carry *Don Juan* the Letter the Pope had written to him, wherein he conjured him to preserve those Sentiments of respect and Submission for the Queen, which a Subject ow'd his Sovereign.

The Nuncio went to find him, and came back about midnight. No Body almost in this great City went to bed, but attended his Return with impatience, for they knew the occasion of his Journey; and the people ran up and down the Streets in great Bodies, asking each other who they were for. The news the Nuncio brought back with him did not at all please the Queen, he told her that he had earnestly requested the Prince to go to *Guadalajara*, or at least to stay where he was a few days, that new measures might be taken to satisfy him, but that the Prince refused both the one and the other, and said, that if on the *Monday* following the Confessor would not go out of the Gate, he would throw him out at the Window, and enter *Madrid* on purpose to put it in execution. It was afterwards known, that this Negotiation passed after another manner, viz. that the Prince had agreed to let Father *Nitard* be with the Queen, provided she would grant some advantages to him which he proposed; but that the Nuncio, who had no kindness for that Father, was resolved to break the Treaty all to pieces

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by concealing the favourable inclinations of *Don Juan*.

Father *Nitard* was informed of all that happened, he Confessed the Queen the next morning, and afterwards threw himself at her feet, beseeching her not to expose him to the outrages which he might expect to suffer from an incensed Prince, that his life was at stake, and that there was no other way to preserve it, but by submitting to the present necessity. The Queen answered him with abundance of Tears, that he should not disquiet himself at all, for she would take care to set things to rights again.

He was well enough satisfied of her own good will for him, but he questioned whether her power answered her inclinations; nevertheless he resolved at last that he would be torn in pieces by the people, before he would leave *Madrid* without her Order. So he tarried with her, having all the Apprehensions upon him that a man, who every moment expects his death, can be capable of.

These affairs came to this upshot at last, that on *Monday* the 25th of *February*, the great Court of the Palace was filled with numbers of people of all conditions, who in a disorderly manner, that was not easie to be suppressed, loudly demanded to have the Confessor discarded without any more Delay, 'That no body was ignorant of what *Don Juan* had said to the Nuncio; that the City would go near to be exposed to Plunder and Desolation for the sake of a Jesuit who was a Stranger, and had no other merit to recommend him but his pleasing the Queen.

The Duke d' *Infantado* and the Marquess de *Liche* seeing such a vast Multitude assembled together, ran to the Queens Apartment, who was

was then in Bed: She had not closed her Eyes all night long, and had not enjoy'd one Moment of Rest, having it seems received some information of what had past. One of her Ladies, whose name was *Donna Eugenia*, was upon her Knees by her to comfort her in these Extremities. *Alas*, said the Queen to her, *what signifies my Grandeur, and these high Titles they give me, since I am not allowed the Liberty to keep the good Man any longer with me, upon whom the Consolation of my Life depends? There is never a Lady in Spain but has the Priviledge of keeping her Chaplain, and no Body finds Fault with it. But I am the only Woman in the Kingdom, that is persecuted upon this Score, and whose Confessor must be taken away from her by Force.*

The Council sat immediately because the Disorder still increased in the City, and it was to be feared that it would augment more and more. Some of the Ministers, who were in the Queens Interests, were for finding out some Expedient to hinder the Departure of Father *Nitard*; but others pretended there was no room left for an Accommodation, and said that if the business was any longer delayed, all would be lost: That *Don Juan* would soon enter *Madrid*, and then Friends and Enemies would fare alike, that their Debate at present was only about a poor Ecclesiastic, whom the People hated even to Madness, and never mentioned without the bitterest Execrations, altho at the Bottom he never deserved them, and was an honest Man.

Her Majesty happening to be in Bed, when the Duke d' *Infantado*, and the Marquess de *Liche* demanded to speak with her, they could not see her, because it is the Custom in *Spain* for no Body to go into the Queens Chamber when she is gone to Bed. So they went to the *Cavacuela*, which is a place under Ground belonging

to the Palace, where the * Secretaries of State abide. They spoke to *Don Blasco de Loyola*, and would have given him a Memoir to deliver to her Majesty; but the great haste they made in running up to the Queens Apartment, and afterwards in hurrying down Stairs again to the Privy Council, together with the great ado they made to get in, caused several persons that met them, to follow after them, so that when they entred the Chamber where the Ministers were assembled, to inform themselves of what had past, † they found a great Rabble of People who entred along with them, and began to cry out all together, *Deliver us from the Jesuit, and send him packing.*

The Ministers continued a while surprized, and looking upon one another, while the Rabble renewed their Importunities, adding at the same time some Menaces against those that should offer to stand by the Father Confessor.

Without demurring any longer upon the matter, they resolved to send *Don Blasco de Loyola* to wait upon the Queen with a Decree, with which they entrusted him. He brought her word that the Council had determin'd that Father *Ni-ard* should depart *Madrid* within three hours warning. The Order was already drawn and the Queen discovered no Emotion in reading it: she signed it with great Steadiness of Mind, and without shedding one Tear; but being desirous that her Confessors removal should not seem to be extorted by Force, but that he made an honourable Retreat, she procured an Order of Leave to be drawn up in these Words,

* Who is called in *Spain* Secretary *del Despacho* Universal.

† These two Lords were not of the Junta of the Government.

Whereas F. John Everard Nitard, of the Society of Jesus, my Confessor, Minister of State, and Inquisitor General, has humbly intreated me to give him leave to withdraw himself out of these Kingdoms; altho I am fully satisfied not only of his integrity and his other good qualities, but also of the great Zeal and Application wherewith he has always served the Crown; yet nevertheless upon the account of his earnest Supplications, as well as for divers other important reasons, I have given him my Permission to go where he pleases: And since I desire that this may be done in a manner that is suitable to his Merits and Dignity, I have thought it expedient to give him his choice of going in the quality of Ambassador Extraordinary either to Germany or Rome, with all the Emoluments and Advantages that belong to that Charge. Given at Madrid the 25th of February, 1669.

As soon as Don Blasco was gone, the Queen using no farther violence with her self to keep in her Tears, shed them very plentifully, and casting her self upon the bed with all the grief imaginable cryed out incessantly, *Alas! alas!* to what purpose is it to be a Queen and Regent! On the other hand the Council commanded the Cardinal of Arragon, and the Count de Penaranda to go and acquaint Father Nitard with the order her Majesty had signed. He who had long expected this Tempest, seemed not to be surprized at the News, but was perswaded by the Nuncio's importunities not to go to Council as he had designed, for he told him the people were so highly incensed against him, that he would infallibly run the risque of being torn to pieces if he offer'd to shew himself.

The Superiors of the Jesuits were come to wait upon him to prepare him for this fatal Stroak. The Admiral of Castile came thither also, telling him with great Fierceness and the freedom

freedom of Conversation, that so peculiarly distinguishes Persons of Quality from others, that he had drawn all these Misfortunes upon himself by his own ill Measures, which he there particularly enumerated to him. The Father who had been never accustomed to these Reprimands, replied that this Discourse was not fit for an Inquisitor General to hear before all the World.

When the Cardinal of *Arragon* arrived, he found the Father extremely afflicted. The necessity of parting immediately without so much as taking leave of the Queen his Mistress touch'd him to the quick. The Cardinal was not able to refrain Tears at beholding it, whether from a Consideration of the Incertainty of humane Affairs that have no sure Foundation, or else from the particular Esteem he always had for him. He offer'd to furnish him with a thousand Pistols for his Voyage, and the Count *de Penaranda* with Letters of Exchange for thirty thousand Ducats, but he would not accept of them, saying, that as he came thither a poor Ecclesiastic, so he knew well enough how to depart from thence under the same Circumstances.

The Cardinal comforted him as well as he was able, and told him that he would accompany him to *Fuencaral*, then he withdrew to leave him at Liberty to set his own things in Order, and towards the Evening came to take him up in his Coach, which was well guarded: He asked him immediately whether all his things were ready, I have no other things, replies the Father, save only my Habit and Breviary, so they departed, being accompanied by all the Officers of the Inquisition. As soon as ever the people saw Father *Nitard*, they fell a crying and throwing Stones at him, and followed him with Curses and Imprecations:

precations: It happen'd well for him that he was in company with a person of the Cardinal's Dignity for otherwise he had been exposed to the fury of the Rabble. The Grief that so rude a Treatment possess'd him with, obliged him several times to say with Tears in his Eyes, that God had now tryed him by throwing him into this Furnace of Tribulations, and that he should be very happy to be found good Alloy. As he passed through the Streets, he said to the People who pursued him with contumelious Reproaches, Farewel my Children, farewel, I am going.

He was not willing to accept of the Embassy to *Rome*, altho the Queen writ a very obliging Letter to him at *Fuencaral*, and reiterated the Offer to him. She sent him two thousand Pistoles for his Voyage to *Rome*, some Precious Stones, and an Augmentation of two thousand Crowns by way of Pension. When he was gone, his Domesticks found a Hair-cloth and some Disciplines in his Cabinet.

When there was now no longer any Fear, of displeasing the Father Confessor by shewing respect to *Don Juan*, every one went to see him at *Consuegra*, and testified their Zeal for him. He wrote to the Queen to thank her for sending away his inveterate Enemy, as well as that of the State, and prayed her to give him leave to come to Court, and kiss the Kings hands. But instead of granting him that Request, she order'd him to retire a dozen Leagues from *Madrid*. He was sensibly touch'd at this unexpected Severity, and complained of it as of a sort of Banishment. Nevertheless this did not hinder him from demanding by Letters, as well to the Queen as the Council, to take the publick Good into their Consideration, and fill Father *Nitard's* places with persons that were capa-

ble of discharging them well: he represented to them, that those Dignities ought to be taken from him, since it was equally as important a matter to hinder him from coming back again into the Kingdom, as it was necessary to make him leave it.

He demanded also that they should take away the Place of President of *Castile* from the Bishop of *Placentia*, since he was the man that issued out the Decree, by Virtue of which *Mal-ladas* was strangled; and that the Marquess *d' Aytone*, his capital Enemy, should no longer have the Liberty of passing his Judgment in those Affairs that concerned him.

The Queen was very much offended at the manner wherein the Prince wrote to her, and yet more enraged at what had happened, sent him a very unpallatable Message, and order'd him forthwith to discharge his Guards, as he had engag'd to do.

He complained of this to the Cardinal of *Ar-ragon* and the Nuncio, giving them as well as the Queen to understand, that he could not part with his Friends that accompanied him, till such time as he was certainly informed that Father *Nitard* was out of the Kingdom, because he had still reason to fear some Mischief from that Quarter.

Hereupon the Council met, and judged it convenient that the Cardinal should go to *Guadalajara*, to engage the Prince to comply with the Queens desires; he consented to it at last and dismiss'd his Guards, after the Cardinal had managed a sort of a Treaty between that Princess and *Don Juan*, by which she confirmed him in the Government of the *Low Countries*, and pass'd her word that the Father Confessor should quit his places; that the President of

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Castile

Castile and the Marquess *d' Aytoné* should not meddle with the Cognizance of those things wherein the Prince was concerned; that as for himself, he might settle wherever he thought convenient; that they would take particular care to ease the People of their Grievances; that no body should be admitted to any of the Military Orders of *Castile*, who had not served ten years by Land or by Sea; that the Pope should be the Depository of the Queens word for the security of the Prince. There were many other Articles besides these, but not of the same weight and consideration, all tending either to the satisfaction of *Don Juan*, or the ease of the People.

He forbore making his usual Remonstrances till the Month of *May*, at which time he received information that the Queen was setting on foot a Regiment of Guards for the Kings Service, whereof she had made the Marquess *d' Aytoné* Collonel.

He wrote very sharply to her about this matter, and represented to her, that it was against the Custom of the Kings of *Spain* to have any other Guards but the Inhabitants of *Madrid*, that this Regiment would be an everlasting Reproach to the City, and would occasion abundance of ill Effects, which he there enumerated at length. It is worth the observing, (and I could not forbear to take notice of it) that in this same Letter he complained, that the Queen did not answer him with her own Hand, but used that of the Cardinal of *Arragon*, under pretence that she was troubled with a Megrim; telling her in plain down-right Terms, *that a man of his Rank and Quality was not able to bear such a Contempt.* The World may learn from this remarkable Passage on what Grounds the natural Sons of the Kings of *Spain* pretend to stand.

All

All the Courts of Judicature as well the Chief as the Subaltern, the Body of the City and the People made several Remonstrances to the Queen, to hinder the setting up this Regiment in *Madrid*, but to no purpose. In fine they importuned her so often upon this Score, that she signed an Order, by which she prohibited them to speak to her any more about it, and so without any more Delay she compleated the Regiment.

She afterwards commanded *Don Juan*, under very rigorous Penalties, to remove from *Guadalajara*: He obeyed her Orders with a great deal of Respect, altho he was in a Condition, by the Help of his Friends, that were come to him from *Arragon* and other places, to do what he pleased; the Report ran, that he was coming within a little Distance of *Madrid*, and this gave several Persons abundance of uneasy Thoughts.

To pacifie their Spirits, the Queen wrote to him and desired him to repair to *Arragon*, in the Quality of Viceroy and Vicar-General of the Kingdom dependant upon it.

This Order affected him with a very sensible Joy, and he took care to testifie it by the Thanks he returned the Queen, to whom he writ a very large Letter, desiring her Majesty to consider seriously of the Education of the young King. In it he represented to her the great Consequences of it, as being a Man, that was Master of a great deal of Wit and Honour. He wrote likewise to the Pope on the 7th of *June*, to conjure him to oblige Father *Nitard* to quit his Offices.

In the mean time some of the Queens Enemies set about a sham Decree, wherein she gave Orders to the Council to disarm the People immediately, and return their Arms into the Common Hall. It was an easie matter to perswade the World that this was her real Intention, and

indeed this pretended Innovation so far estranged the Peoples Hearts from her Majesty, that they were just upon the point of making an insurrection.

This reason joyned with the horrible Disorders that were committed by the Regiment of the *Scambergues* (for so the People nick-named them because they were clad *a la Francoise*, and the *Spaniards* copied this Mode from M. *de Schomberg*) this reason, I say, obliged the Council Rôyal to present another Remonstrance to the Queen, wherein they desired her to send these new Soldiers to the Frontiers; but she did not think fit to comply with their Requests, because she imagined this Body of Military Men would keep the City in Awe and Subjection.

Don Juan was now at *Saragossa*, beloved by the Nobility, and adored by the People: The Queen could never forgive him the irreparable Injury he did her, in forcing her to part with her Confessor, who made but a sorry Figure at *Rome*, so that by way of Raillery it was frequently said. *That the Queen of Spain had so invincible an Aversion to the Spaniards, that she would never consent to the Ruine of Father Nitard, till he was naturalized a Spaniard.*

But however she still preserved so great an Esteem and Affection for him, that she employed her utmost Endeavours to procure him a Cardinals Cap. For this reason he gave secret Orders to the *Marquess de S. Romain*, her Ambassador ordinary at *Rome*. This soon came to be known at *Madrid*, and the News alarm'd the People exceedingly, every one apprehending that if ever the Father Confessor was made Cardinal, he would certainly by those Steps come back to *Spain*, and they were all perswaded that the Queen maintained the Regiment of the *Schombergs* for no other end, but only to favour this Design.

The

The Council being really afraid lest the Intrigue should succeed, bethought themselves of some means to defeat Father *Nitard* in his Pretensions, and for that purpose they dispatched a Courier to the Marquess *de S. Romain* to propose to the Pope some other Subjects of *Spain*, who better deserved the Purple. The Queen made as if she consented to the Business, but under hand renewed her Orders: But the Ambassador, who was no Friend at all to the Jesuits, managed his Affairs so prudently, that his Holiness rejected Father *Nitard*, and besides obliged him to resign his other Places.

The General of his Order, whom he had formerly neglected, and who for that reason owed him a great deal of ill will, thought he had now an opportunity in the reverse of the Fathers, fortune to pay the debt, so he sent him immediately to one of their Houses near *Rome*.

He retired thither with a Spirit of Moderation that was very exemplary, and of all his Train he kept no one with him but Friar *Bustos* his Companion: Behold here a continued Series of Thunder Claps one upon the Neck of another. This harsh Usage appeared so terrible to the poor Queen, who did not in the least question the Success of her Negotiation, that she fell sick of a Tertian Ague, which continued a long time upon her.

'Tis easie to believe, by what I have already related, that her Resentments became more violent than ever against *Don Juan*: from her natural Disposition she was inclined to make him responsible for every thing that gave her any Disquiet, and when she saw at the same time the Bulls for the Charge of Inquisitor General arrived at *Madrid*, she did not doubt but it was all of the Prince's doing. In fine that place

which she had seen so deservedly filled by Father *Nitard*, was possess'd by *Don Antonio Balladores*, President of *Castile*; and Father *Nitard* for his part continued still near *Rome*, but subject to all the ill Treatment, with which the General of his Order thought fit to mortifie him.

The Queen was not able to endure, that a Man who had formerly enjoyed so great a share in her Friendship and Confidence, and who had governed the whole Monarchy of *Spain* so absolutely should continue exposed to all the Resentments and Caprices of his General, therefore she employed all the Credit she had at *Rome* to place Father *Nitard* in another Condition.

Clement IX dying in the Month of *December* 1669. Cardinal *Altieri* was chosen Pope, and took upon him the name of *Clement X*. The Queen, who did not doubt but that this Pope would bestow a Cap upon her Confessor, named the Father to be Embassador extraordinary of *Spain* at his Holiness's Court, an Employment which she had formerly offer'd him, when he departed from *Madrid*, and which he was not then willing to accept of; she procured leave for him to return to *Rome*, and in fine, managed this Affair with his Holiness so successfully, that Father *Nitard* was created Archbishop of *Edessa*. She continued to solicit his Promotion with a great deal of Vigour and Application. The Pope being thus importuned, made him Cardinal Priest in the Month of *April* 1672, and gave him in the Month of *August* following, the Title of *St. Bartholomew d' Isola*, and gave him a place in the four Congregations.

This News filled the Queen with a very sensible Joy, and all those Persons who were of her party did not fail to compliment her upon this Occasion. The new Cardinal writ a very obliging

bliging Letter to *Don Juan* in hopes that this civility would draw another from the Prince, and that finding by this Correspondence a means to reconcile himself to him, he would at last consent to his Return into *Spain*. But he was mightily mistaken in his Project, for *Don Juan* sent him no Answer back again. Cardinal *Nitard* seeing that the Prince still continued his Aversion to him, laid aside all Hopes of going to *Madrid*, till the time of the King's Coronation.

But since what I have written concerning Cardinal *Nitard*, has insensibly led me to the time of *Don Fernand de Valenzuela*, I think myself obliged to speak of him.

He was originally of the City *de Ronda* in the Kingdom of *Granada*, and was supposed to be an *Hidalgo*, that is to say a Gentleman, and not a *Cavallero*. For they make this Difference in *Spain* between a Cavalier and a Gentleman, that the former is descended of an ancient Family, or at least allied to some illustrious House, and pays neither Taxes nor Tribute, whereas the latter is exempt from nothing, tho he perhaps has acquired the Quality of a Gentleman.

Valenzuela came very young to *Madrid*, where the Duke *de l' Infantado* took him for his Page when he went Ambassador to *Rome*. He was handsome and well-shaped, of an agreeable Meen, had a great deal of Wit, loved his Studies, and was naturally a Poet. The Character of his Verse was tender and passionate, there are several pieces of his to be seen that are composed after Fashion, and among the rest some Comedies which he caused to be represented for the Diversion of the Queen-Mother, at the time when he first began to have the Honour of being in her good Graces.

The Duke *de l' Infantado* being returned out

of Italy, made *Don Fernand* Knight of St. *Jago*. 'Tis by this means ordinarily that great Persons begin to recompense those of their Domesticks, for whom they have the greatest Consideration. But he received nothing else but this bare Title for the many years Service he had waited upon his Master, because it so happened that the Duke died, before he did any farther kindness for him.

He found himself therefore all at a Blow destitute of a Protector, and so miserably poor that he was obliged to become *Passeante en Corte*, which is as much as to say, a man that lives by his Wits. To say the truth, he was Master of very happy Talents, which put him in a Condition to accomplish every thing he undertook, so that after he had seriously examined with himself the meanness of his Fortune, he imagined the best Conduct he could use to advance it, was to make himself acquainted and known to some persons, that were particularly devoted to the Interests of the Queen. He search'd out means to effect this Design with so continued an Application, that at last he found access to Father *Nitard*, he chose him immediately for his Patron, and indeed could not have pitch'd upon a better; and soon insinuated himself into his favour by his exemplary Submission and Diligence. The Father taking notice that he wanted neither Address nor Wit, and besides that he was capable of keeping a Secret, communicated to him some of his own, and afterwards entrusted him with those of the Queen, acquainting him with the Resentments she had entertained against *Don Juan* of Austria. He knew very well what Advantages to make, both of the Discovery that was made him, and of the favourable Disposition of the Father Confessor, and rendred himself so necessary to him that

that he could not almost be a Moment without him. This obliged him to give him Admission into the Palace, whether he often came to give him an account of the several things he had intrusted him with.

As soon as ever *Valenzuela* was introduced into the Palace, he lost no time there, but improved all his favourable Moments to the best Advantages; he plaid very well at Cards, and being informed that amongst the other Women that waited upon the Queen, there was a *German* Lady whose name was *Donna Eugenia*, in whom her Mistress intirely confided, he presently resolved to use all means to see her: He walked often under her Chamber window, and being an handsom agreeable young Fellow she for her part failed not to take due Notice of him.

In short they spoke to one another, he pleased her at least as well as she pleased him, she gave him leave to *Galante* her, for that is the fashionable Word with them there, when any Person devotes himself to the Service of any of the Court-Ladies: And 'tis a thing so common among them, that altho a Man is married, yet he does not forbear to treat his Mistress in publick with all those Ceremonies, that are usually paid to the Lady, whom they design to marry.

Donna Eugenia did not receive the Testimonies, that young *Valenzuela* gave her of his Passion with the least coldness or indifference, and he pursued the point so vigorously, and press'd her so earnestly to consent to marry him, that she discoursed the Queen about it.

Her Majesty had already taken Notice of him, and he had the good Fortune not to displease her, so that to tye him the faster to her Interests she consented to let him marry her Favourite, and afterwards bestowed a Gentleman Querry's place upon

upon the new Bridegroom, About this time the Differences between the Queen and *Don Juan* daily increased, and as *Don Fernand* was a Man of Address enough to sound the Bottom of any Intrigue, so he did not omit to do the Queen all the useful Services that lay in his Power. She beheld his Zeal with a great deal of Pleasure, and took him so far into her Consideration, that she daily gave him some fresh Assurances of her Confidence.

Father *Nitard* placed all this to his own Account, and voluntarily contributed to *Valenzuela's* Advancement, because he looked upon him as his own Creature: But tho Fortune now began to desert and leave him, yet she absolutely declared her self in Favour of *Valenzuela*, about the time when *Don Juan* returned from *Arragon* to *Castile*, and caused the Father Confessor to be turned out of *Spain*.

Valenzuela continued the Queen's sole Favourite without any Spy upon him, for the Prince returned back to *Saragossa* in Quality of Vicar-General of the Kingdom of *Arragon*. The Queen was so extremely perplexed and mortified by the Removal of Father *Nitard*, and her Enemies knew so well to make their Advantages of it, that it was some time before she could tolerably recover herself from the Impression that so rude a Shock had made upon her, but having considered the necessity she lay under to have a faithful Person near her, whom she might entrust with her most secret Affairs, she cast her Eyes upon *Valenzuela*, who for his part still continued very much amaz'd at the Misfortunes of Father *Nitard*.

One day the Queen spoke to *Donna Eugenia* to bring her Husband with her privately towards the Evening, because she had a mind to discourse
with

with him alone: *Donna Eugenia*, who wanted neither Wit nor Ambition, was transported with Joy to think that *Valenzuela* was going to have such particular Conversations with the Queen, and exactly obeyed the Orders she had received.

The first time he entred into the Queen's Chamber, he was very cautious and fearful, for he came armed with a *Brâquel*, which is a sort of a Buckler, that they generally carry with them in *Spain*, when they go to a place where they apprehend any Danger: His Hair, that was very fine and delicate, he had tyed up in a Ribbon knot, he had not his *Golilia* on, for 'tis the fashion there to leave them off at night, in short he forgot nothing that might render himself charming and agreeable to the Queen. She appeared in a *deshabille* that sat much better upon her, than the Widows Habit she wore in the day time, which very much resembles that of a religious Woman.

Valenzuela threw himself immediately at her feet, and after he had returned her his most humble Thanks for the great Honour she was now pleased to do him, he assured her, that his Blood, his Life, in a word every thing that lay in his Power was so intirely resigned to her Service, that he had the Presumption to believe none of all her Subjects was devoted to her Majesty, after so particular a manner as himself. The Queen gave credit to his words, and after this meeting, scarce a night pass'd over his Head, but she caused him to come privately to her Apartment.

His Wife always conducted him thither, and the Queen ordered her to be present all the while to take away all Suspition and Umbrage. Here it was that he gave her a particular Account of every thing he knew, and informed her of
all

all the most secret Intrigues that were carried on in Court or City, of the Designs of *Don Juan*, of those Lords that were of the Prince's Faction, of the Measures that were taken against her, so that she knew all the most private Affairs, altho to appearance she spoke with no body. It was commonly said at Court that there was a *Duende* in the Palace, that is to say a familiar Spirit, that acquainted the Queen with all the News, and and secret Designs: But some time after when it came to be publicly known, that *Valenzuela* was this *Esprit folet*, this familiar Spirit, he was usually called *el Duende de la Reina*.

The Affection she had for him encreased to such a Degree, that all the World knew it, and the Courtiers all endeavoured to please the new Favourite: No Favours were to be obtained but through his Intercession, and the Credit of the other Ministers sunk so low that they stood only for Ciphers, So they began to murmur amongst themselves. *To what purpose was it, said they, to remove Father Nitard and send him away, since a new Favourite is started up, that succeeds him in his Place, and acts with more Authority than the other ever did?*

This good Fortune of *Valenzuela* occasioned him a thousand Enemies, they spoke of the Queen with all the Freedom and Liberty imaginable; both Grandees and People made no Scruple of saying in publick that a young ignorant Favourite without Fortune or Merit governed all Spain, and that it was a Shame to endure it. The Queen being informed of what was said, resolved to advance *Valenzuela's* fortune without delay, to the end that he might feel the good Effects of her Protection, before they were able to hurt him. Upon this Consideration she gave him the charge of Master of the Horse, without having any regard

regard to the Custom, by which she was obliged to concert it with her Ministers, as is the way in *Spain*, when they are going to dispose of any considerable Post, because she apprehended they would have opposed her Designs; so that without entring into any matter of Consultation (that is the usual Term in *Spain*) she ordered his Commission to be dispatched.

The Marquess *de Castel-Rodrigo* who was at that time Master of the Horse, opposed it with all his Power, and peremptorily refused to give him Admission into that Place, alledging abundance of very disobliging Reasons against the Pretensions of *Don Fernand*, and particularly that he had no Title to make him hope so great an Honour. The Queen removed that Difficulty very easily, for she created him Marquess *de San-bortolome de los Pinares*.

When the World observed so advantageous an Alteration in the Fortune of *Valenzuela*, no body questioned but that he was a *Valido*, that is to say a Favourite. The Report immediately spread it self through all *Spain*, attended with some Circumstances that deeply concerned her Majesty's Reputation, but she made no Account of them; whether it were, because she thought those Persons not worth her Consideration that had the Boldness to talk so freely of her, or because she had some particular Reasons to herself not to alter this Conduct.

Some time after, the Marquess *de Castel-Rodrigo*, Master of the Horse, happened to die, and the Queen bestow'd his Charge upon *Valenzuela*: if the Grandees formerly murmured when he was advanced to a less considerable Post, 'tis an easie matter to imagine the Excess of their Dissatisfaction and Jealousie, when they beheld him settled in a place, which all of them could

could have wished to have enjoyed, and of which they believed themselves to be infinitely more deserving: But they ceased to make any farther Clamours about this Business, when they found they had a Subject to talk of that was a great deal more surprizing. Her Majesty made *Valenzuela* a Grandee of Spain of the first Class, with a double gold Key. At this piece of news all people looked upon one another, and continued mute for some time, not being able to express the Astonishment they were in. The Lords as they met one another said nothing else but, *Valenzuela made a Grandee, O tempora, O mores*: In fine the Queen declared him her sole Favourite, so that he issued out all Orders for her as chief Minister, or to speak more properly, as an absolute Master. No Body was surprized at this new Honour that arrived to him, for they made no Question, but that after such strange unaccountable Beginnings, he was marked out and designed for the Ministry.

Being elevated to so eminent a post, he wanted nothing but some Friends to help and support him, if it ever should be his ill Fortune to make a wrong Step. And it was no difficult Matter for him to effect it in so advantageous a Situation, where all Favours, all the Mony, all the Offices and Benefices were at his intire Disposal. But as soon as ever he procured a Favour for any single Grandee, he at the same Moment disoblighd above twenty more, who from that time dated themselves his mortal Enemies, and heartily wished his Ruin, because he did not prefer them: So that he was often heard to complain and regret his Fate, for that he could not satisfy all the World. And as the Number of his Friends was infinitely inferiour to that of his Enemies, so the latter began to cabal

cabal against him, and think of some way or other to oblige *Don Juan of Austria* to return, out of an Expectation that he was the fittest person to remove this universal Grievance, this new Creature *Valenzuela*.

This Cabal of Malecontents increased so mightily, that there was almost nothing to be seen but Pasquils, Lampoons, and Satyrs, both in Prose and Verse against the Queen and against him. Nay they had the boldness to give out, that he hindered her Majesty from recompensing the Services of several Persons, who otherwise might have expected considerable Employments. In short, their insolence proceeded so far, that one Night very near the Palace, they hung up the Portraiture of the Queen with *Valenzuela*. He had at his feet all the Marks that represented his several places, a Sword for Constable, an Anchor for Admiral, a Golden Key for Gentleman of the Bed Chamber, a Collar of the Fleece for Knight of that Order, and so of the rest. He pointed at all these things with his hand, and below was written *Este se Vende*, that is to say, all this is sold. And the Queen leaning her Hand upon his Heart with this Inscription *Este se da*, that is to say, and this is given. The Report ran very strong, that he sold all Offices and Dignities at high Rates, at which some Persons of the highest Quality were extremely offended, and his Avarice drew upon him abundance of Enemies.

But what is still the most remarkable is this, that all these various Reports made not the least Impression on the Queen. She said 'That her rank placed her above these little Contumelies, and that she should be angry with her self if she were capable of being disquieted at such miserable Reproaches, that were so infinitely
' below

'below her indignation; that the most effectual
 'way to punish and extinguish these licentious
 'Abuses was to take no notice of them, that the
 'reason why they were so inveterate against the
 'Marquess *de Valenzuela* proceeded only from
 'their Envie, that she was resolved not to abandon
 'and sacrifice one of the best Subjects that
 'the King her Son had, to gratifie the insatiable
 'Humour of some Malecontents that were never
 'to be satisfied. So that now it was apparent,
 that all the Methods they took to destroy this
 Favourite, served only to confirm him so much
 the deeper in the Affections, and good Graces
 of the Queen.

Nevertheless he used all possible Means to
 procure the good Will of the People, he took care
 that *Madrid* should be always plentifully supplied
 with Provisions, necessary for Life; and
 that all sorts of Commodities should be sold at
 cheap easie Rates. He often entertained the City
 with Bull-Feasts, where he generally made his
 Appearance in a black Habit, embroidered over
 with Silver, and wore black and white Plumes,
 as being in second Mourning, because the Queen
 was a Widow: But as soon as ever he entred
 the Lists, and according to the Custom of those
 that design to combat the Bulls, came under
 the Queen's Balcony making her a profound
 Reverence and demanding Permission *de Taurrear*,
 (as they call it there) she sent a Messenger to
 forbid him to expose himself. 'Twas observable
 in one of these Courses, that he wore a Scarf
 of black Taffata embroidered o're with Gold,
 with the Device of an Eagle gazing stedfastly
 upon the Sun, and for the Motto these words,
Tengo solo Licentia, that is to say, *it is only permitted to me*. Some days after he appeared at the
 running at the Ring, having an Eagle painted up

on his Buckler, (for they always wear them at this sort of Course, which is an ancient Diversion of the *Moors*) armed with *Jupiter's* Thunder, bearing the same Motto, *It is only permitted to me*. There being no hazard to run in this Sport, the Queen was willing that *Valenzuela* should shew his Dexterity, which he did, and carried away the Prize from a great number of young Lords, that disputed it with him, and received from the Queen's hand a Sword beset with Diamonds. They talked hotly at Court of the two Devices of the Favourite, and every one was ready to explain them according to his own Fancy and Inclination. He caused some Comedies of his composing to be publickly represented on the Theatre, and all the Town had the liberty of seeing them for nothing. This was the most taking way in the World to gain the hearts of the *Spaniards*, for they are such passionate Admirers of all publick Shows, that they will lay up the Money, which ought to be spent in maintaining their poor Families, to purchase a dear Seat at a Bull-feast. *Valenzuela* was not satisfied to cultivate the Affections of the people by these magnificences, but sought other ways to win their hearts. He set several noble Buildings on foot, rebuilt the great Square, the better part of which had been consumed by Fire, and particularly the House where their Majesties went to behold the Courses at the Bull-feasts, and running at the Ring. He caused a Bridge to be built at the gate near *Toledo* over the *Mancanares*, that cost a million of Ducats, and another Bridge over the same River at *Pardo*, which is a house of pleasure belonging to the King. The Frontispiece and place before the Palace was finished by his order, as also the Tower of the Queen's Apartment was raised much higher.

He employed all his Thoughts in contributing to the diversion of the Queen, and the King her Son; this young Prince now began to go to all the meetings of Sport and Pleasure that were kept at *Aranjues*, the *Escorial* and the other Royal Houses. One day when the Marquess de *Valenzuela* had received Orders of the King to prepare a Chase for him, and the Court was then at the *Escorial*, the King designing to shoot a Stag, shot his Favourite and wounded him on the Thigh; the Queen being terribly affrighted broke out into great Lamentations, and fainted away between the Arms of her Ladies. This accident occasioned some People to predict the approaching Ruin of *Valenzuela*, whereof this odd Adventure seemed to be a Prefage.

The time being now come to order the King's Household, the Marquess made choice of all the Officers, he made the Duke d' *Albuquerque* Mayor Dome Mayor, the Admiral of *Castile*, *Cavallerizo* Mayor, and the Duke de *Medinacelli* Sumiller de Corps, this Officer is the same in Effect with High Chamberlain, and puts on the Kings Shirt: The name is originally French, and comes from the Dukes of *Burgundy*, from whom the House of *Austria* is descended. After the same manner he disposed of the other places.

Now as there were abundantly more Pretenders than places to fill, he drew upon him by this means a considerable number of Enemies, who could not digest the Affront of having nothing given them, and were less inclined to Pardon him for that which directly concerned themselves, than for what related to the Interest of State. At this time they thought more earnestly than ever of *Don Juan*, hoping that he would come to revenge their Quarrel upon *Valenzuela*, and besides they laboured under hand to convince the
King,

King, how necessary it was for the better Management of Affairs to have the Prince about him.

The Queen being informed of what was designed against her, passed many sorrowful Days, and more melancholy Nights, altho she had almost continual Conference with the Marquefs; but she could never represent to her mind the killing thought, that they would treat the Marquefs after the same cruel manner as they had used Father *Nitard*, but she fell a weeping, and discovered all the Signs of a real Concern. She knew very well, that the Grandees frequently assembled together, and that they spoke of the Government with all the freedom imaginable; that the Libels and Pasquils, that were insolently scattered abroad, all tended to Defame her Administration, were publickly owned and acknowledged by the Authors themselves, and that she was obliged to seem, as if she knew nothing of those matters, because she was not in a Capacity to punish them.

Valenzuela for his part was not without his uneasie Moments, the Elevation of his Fortune only served to make him sensible of the terrible Precipice he was falling down, from which he did not perceive any visible means to secure himself.

In the mean time *Don Juan*, who continued still at *Saragossa*, was discontented at his Banishment, how honourable soever it appeared, it is sufficient that it was not voluntary, and that was enough to make him disrelish it. The Queen and he had still the same natural Aversion to one another as formerly, and notwithstanding the fair Appearances of his outward Behaviour, he laboured underhand with his Friends to get himself declared, *Infant de Castile*. At least people report it of him; 'tis indeed very true, that he was never able to accomplish that Design, but

they pretend that he was not absolutely without hopes to effect it.

However it was, he made so great a Faction, by the means of some considerable persons about the King, who were for promoting his Return, that his Friends sent him word, that the King desired it, that every thing was disposed, and ready to receive him, and that the credit of the Queen would never be able to stand in Competition against his.

This good news obliged him to quit *Arragon*, and make all the haste he could to arrive at *Buen-retiro* 1677.

To bring about this Affair with more Facility, they gave the King to understand, 'That he was 'not only under the Tutorage of the Queen his 'Mother, but under that of *Valenzuela*. They 'afterwards represented to him the Constraint 'he lived under in such lively Colours, that he 'protested he would free himself immediately 'from this Servitude. And altho the Queen had always her Eye upon him, for fear he should be seduced by any ill Counsels, and take contrary measures to what she prescribed him, yet he found the opportunity one night to steal out of the Palace with only one Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, who lay in his Room, and so muffled up in his Cloak he walk'd on foot to *Retiro*, which was far enough off: From thence he dispatch'd an Order immediately to the Queen not to stir out of the Palace.

It is easie to imagine what Entertainment such mortifying news found with her, and what Effects this sudden reverse of Fortune caused in a Princess, who had been accustomed to govern.

She employed the remainder of the night in writing to the King, conjuring him in the most

tender

tender Terms to give her leave to visit him, but he still refused it.

While the King tarried at *Retiro*, the people being informed of his Intentions, flock'd in Multitudes to salute and acknowledge him. All the Lords of the Court made him very considerable Presents, so that some Persons valued them at a hundred thousand Crowns, either in Money, Plate, Tapistry or Diamonds. There was an universal Joy at *Madrid* upon this occasion, and that for these two reasons, which equally caused it. The first is, the exceeding Affection the *Spaniards* have for their Prince, the second, because the Queen was so ill beloved, and besides the People could never forget some words that drop'd from her once, viz. *That she should never be at rest, till she had brought them all to be cloathed with Esterac.* This is a sort of a course Matt made of Rushes, that serves them for Mattresses and their Bedding.

The next night after the King's Retreat, they made Illuminations in all the Streets.

As soon as *Don Juan* arrived, he obliged the King to remove the Queen from thence, so she was sent to *Toledo*, with positive orders not to stir out of that City. The unfortunate *Valenzuela* took his Leave of her with all the Testimonies of Grief and Duty, that so short a time would allow him, and retired to the *Escorial* according to order.

Thus there being a new face of Affairs, every body made his Court and Application to *Don Juan*, and the King by his extraordinary Carelesses, sufficiently testified how joyful he was to see him again. He commanded him to take care of all his Affairs, and indeed *Don Juan* rendred himself so absolute a Master, that his Authority became much greater than that of the Queen, and her two chief Ministers.

Don Juan earnestly desired to have *Valenzuela's* person in his Power, but could not tell whither he was gone. At last being informed that he was to be found at the *Escorial* he shewed a great deal of Joy at the news. This is one of the King's Houses, and is of so prodigious an extent, that if we take in the Buildings, the Park, and a Convent of Religious *Jeronomits*, which is contained within the Precincts of it, 'tis thought it is several Leagues in compass, and is all inclosed with Walls.

The King commanded *Don Antonio de Toledo*, Son to the Duke of *Alva*, to go thither in person and arrest *Valenzuela*; he departed immediately with the Duke *De Medina Sidonia*, and the Marquess *de Valparayso*, *Don Fernand de Toledo*, several persons of great quality, and two hundred Horse. The Marquess was then walking in an adjoining Forrest full of Heaviness and Melancholy, but hearing on a sudden a great noise about him, and being informed at the same time, of what had happened, by a certain Messenger, whom some of his Friends had sent in all speed to acquaint him with the News; he returned hastily to the *Escorial*; and finding out the Prior of the Convent of the *Jeronomites*, who was a very honest man, and particularly concerned at the misfortunes of this Favourite, he told him in a few words what danger he was in, and what reasons he had to apprehend the loss of his Life, in case he was taken; praying and conjuring him with all imaginable earnestness to conceal him in some place of Safety.

The Prior immediately ordered a Hole to be contrived in a Cell, belonging to one of the Religious, of whose Confidence he was well assured: This Cell it seems was all over Wainscoted, so that taking down one of the Pannels of the Wainscot,

Wainscot, and making a Cavity in the Wall which was of a considerable Thickness, in manner of a Nitch, they threw in a few Mats, and there the poor Marquess was shut up.

It being very well known, that the Marquess was retired into the Convent, there was no place or corner left unsearch'd by *Don Antonio de Toledo*, and those that accompanied him. They had so small a respect to the most holy places, that they almost turned every thing in the Church upside down.

But their Search was to no purpose; and *Don Antonio* could not tell what to resolve upon. He had been upon the hunt there several days to find out *Valenzuela*, who, as he now began to imagine, had certainly found the means to save himself: When the unhappy Marquess being almost stifled in the Hole for want of Air, and besides disordered with his late Afflictions, fell so dangerously ill, that there were little hopes of his Life. Finding himself therefore in this desperate Condition, he cared not what became of him: But the Father Prior having first taken the Chirurgeon of the Convent's word to keep the secret inviolably, sent him to the Marquess to let him Blood: This treacherous Villain within a quarter of an hour after discovered the whole Mystery to *Don Antonio*, who had been it seems in the Cell, where poor *Valenzuela* lay immured, almost every day since he began to make the Search after him. He then immediately entred the Convent, and all on the sudden commanded the Pannel, which covered the Marquess, to be taken down. He found him fast asleep: But very much altered by his Indisposition and Misfortunes; his Arms lay ready by him, and if he had been awake, there is no question to be made but that he had resolutely defended himself,

himself, being a person of great Courage and Bravery: And besides what would not a man attempt in so deplorable a Condition?

He was conducted to the Castle *de Consuegra*, which belongs to the Grand Priory of *Castile*, of the order of *Malta*. *Don Juan* chose to make this the Scene of his Confinement, because the Castle depended upon him. *Valenzuela* lay there dangerously sick, and often said in the hearing of his Guards, *Oh Heavens! and there is no hope then that I shall die immediately, must I still live after I have endured so many Afflictions?*

When he was somewhat better, he was removed to the Castle *de los Puntales* at *Cadiz*, where he suffered a very close Imprisonment; nevertheless he shewed a great deal of Constancy and Resolution, in the midst of all his ill Usage and Disgraces.

At last he was embarked in a Vessel to be sent to *Chile* in the *Philippines*. These are certain Islands in the extreamest Part of the *East-Indies*, almost adjoyning to *China*. 'Tis a long and tedious Voyage thither, and they generally transport their most notorious Criminals in *Spain* to those Places, where they are forced to work in the Quicksilver mines. They seldom tarry above two years in that slavish Employment but they die, or at least are troubled with a general trembling in their Limbs, which makes them suffer infinitely more than Death it self.

Valenzuela was informed before his Departure, that he was degraded from all his Honours, and that the King had taken away all his Offices, leaving only his bare name to him. *I perceive then*, says he very pensively, *that I am under more unfortunate Circumstances by far, than when I first came to Court, and the Duke de l' Infantado took me for his Page.*

But

But tho they took care to acquaint him with what related particularly to himself, yet he could learn nothing of the Queen's Destiny, or what became of his Wife and Children. They had shut up her Majesty together with them in a Convent at *Talavera de la Reine*, and strictly commanded the Abbess, not to let them stir abroad, or speak to any body.

'Tis commonly reported, that at the time, when he was at the Port of *Cales* ready to embark, a woman of an extraordinary size, handsomely dress'd, and covered with her Veil, as it is the Spanish Fashion, bustled through the Guards close up to him. *Take courage Valenzuela*, says she to him, *thy Enemy will die, and thou shalt once more see Spain.*

Those that heard her say so, would have stop'd her, but she found out means to make her Escape. What she told him afterwards proved in Effect to be true, for *Don Juan* died, and one of the first Graces that the Queen-Mother begged of the King at her Return to *Madrid*, was to have *Valenzuela* recalled home. So a Vessel was sent to the *Philippines* to bring him back, but he found to his sorrow, that *d^e Eguya* hindered his return, altho the Queen so earnestly desired it.

The Pope having received Information of what had passed, as well in the Church as in the Convent, when they dragged *Valenzuela* by force out of the *Escurial*, excommunicated all those that were concerned in the Fact; so that before the Lords could prevail to have the Ecclesiastical Censure taken off, which by this Violation of the Churches Liberty they had incurred, they were obliged in white Sheets and Halters about their Necks to walk to the Imperial Colledge, where Cardinal *Mellini*, who was

was then Nuncio at *Madrid*, made each of them undergo some Blows of Discipline.

All the Kingdom testified an extraordinary Satisfaction to see *Don Juan* enter upon the Government, and we may safely say, that all the Hopes and Expectations of *Spain* were lodged in him.

As he was Master of a great deal of Wit and Vivacity, so it was natural to believe that the different Employments of his Life, whether in Peace or War, rendered him extremely capable of repairing the Breaches and reforming all the Irregularities of the State. Several of the Grandees had entered into a sort of an Association for his Return; and now they had leisure to make severe Reflections upon the weakness of the late Government, where they found nothing but private Intreagues and little Factions, that were extremely disadvantageous to the Publick Interest.

A German Queen, an Infant King, a Foreigner Chief Minister of State and Confessor, *Valenzuela* made a Favourite and Minister; without Birth and without Capacity, raised upon the sudden by a strange Caprice of Fortune, and thrown down again into his primitive Nothing: In fine, all their hopes centred in *Don Juan*, and they had long expected him almost to a Degree of Impatience: But when he was once arrived, and they beheld him at a nearer View, presently all those great and glorious Ideas, which they had conceived of him, vanished away like a Dream.

This is commonly the Fate and Destiny of all great Ministers; the high place they possess, only serves to expose them the more to the Envy of their Inferiours. Even those persons that took the greatest Pains to place them in that Condition, think they have laboured all the while for
an

an ungrateful Wretch, and if he fails to shower down all his Favours upon them, will be sure to give him less quarter than any men else. So small a distance there is from publick Favour and Admiration to publick Hatred. This Rule which generally holds at all times and in all places, did not fail to be accomplished in the person of *Don Juan*.

Most people were concerned to see what harsh Usage he gave the Queen, and could not forbear to accuse his Obstinacy, for refusing to enter *Madrid*, till the Queen was gone out, and on her way to *Toledo*.

He was not content with this Affront that he put upon her at his first Appearance, but to humble her still the more, he added another that was full as mortifying, he descended into a severe Examination of her past Conduct, the particulars of which had the least Relation to the present State of Affairs, and only tended to defame her.

This Princess suffered with an incredible Grief a Treatment so unbecoming her high Quality, and so injurious to her Reputation, but all other ways of shewing her Resentments were denied her, and she had nothing left to exercise save only her Patience and Virtue.

But several Persons of Quality that were still linked to her, whether out of Affection or Duty, could not without a sensible Affliction, behold the Oppression she lay under. They generally spoke of it with Heat and Indignation, and spread abroad a Report, that altho *Don Juan* was no legitimate Prince, yet he flattered himself that he should one day become absolute Master of the Monarchy.

Abundance of people maintained the contrary, alledging that he was never guilty of such a Design,

Design, and that if he had been capable of harbouring any such thoughts, he might easily have succeeded in them, by the assistance of his own Party which was very numerous, and by his own Power; that the King was but fifteen years old, and besides was equally destitute of Authority and Experience.

What occasion'd this Suspicion was his establishing of some Innovations that were never practised by any Minister before him. One that made the greatest noise was this, that in his Chamber of Audience he would never give the right Hand nor a Seat to the Ambassadors. At first they shewed themselves extreamly disobliged at it, but at last the Nuncio and the other foreign Ministers submitted to this Rule, and visited him without Difficulty. The Queen's Creatures made a greater bustle about this affair than even the Ambassadors themselves, who were only concerned in it, and whether they discoursed of it with too much freedom, or *Don Juan* only suspected their private Sentiments, he caused several of them to be banished. Among the rest were the Admiral of *Castile*, the Duke de *Ossone*, the Prince de *Stillano*, the Marquess de *Mansera*, the Count d' *Humanex*, the Count d' *Aquillar*, and the Marquess de *Mondejar*. The last of whom was accused for making the following Verses, but they were mistaken in the Author, for they were written by the Admiral, who was a person of extraordinary Wit.

*Un frayle y una Corona,
Un Duque y un Cartelesta
An dubieron la lista
De la bella Calderona.
Baylo y alguno blasona*

Que

Court of Spain.

61

*Que de quantos han entrado
En la dança ha averiguado
Quien llezo el prez del bayle:
Pero yo atingome al frayle,
Y quiero perder doblado.*

I have here translated these Verses into English,
altho it is certain they have nothing of the *bel*
air and Spirit the Spanish have.

*Fair Calderona, the Pride of the Stage,
In her youth did with many a Lover engage.
Dukes, Actors, and Kings, in spite of their State,
And Monks so demure on her Triumphs did wait.
The kind coming Nymph, as befitted her Station,
Receiv'd the Addresses of half the Creation.
And very well knew, (as Sh^d had reason enough)
Who plaid his Cards surest, and came the best off.
As for me, without giving my Wherefore or Why,
The Monk, the fat Monk did the Business, say I.*

*De tan santa Confradia,
Procidio un hijo fatal.
Y coco al mas principal
La pensión de la obra pial.
Claro esta que les diera
Lo que qui siesse su Madre.
Pero no haura a quien no quadre
Una rason que si offrece:
Mirese a quien parece
Porque aquel sera su Padre.*

*Sole tiene una Sefial
De nuestro Rey Soberano.
Que en nada pone la mano.
Que no le succeda mal.
Aca perdio a Portugal.*

En

Memoirs of the

*En las Dunas su arrogancia
Dio tantos triumphos a Francia,
Que es cosa de admiracion
Que dar tanta perdicion
En un hijo de ganancia.*

*Mande pues Carlos secundo
Ber si le huvo su recelo
El Rey que vive el Cielo
De unia muger del munda :
En misterio tan profundo
Solo puedo desir yo
Que por suyo le jusgo
Mas si contodo es estrasio
No sea el primer engasio
Que Felipe padecio.*

*In this Blessed Conjunction a Bantling was got,
And the King, as best able, did pay for the shot :
He got him nurs'd up in a little blind Quarter,
And had it been the Mode there, wou'd have giv'n him
The Politick Dame, to filting well us'd, (a Garter.
With a thousand strange Stories, her Lovers amus'd,
But, we, that have no Inclinations to flatter,
Are resolv'd to be rul'd by our Eyes in the matter,
And him, for the Brat's real Father we'll find,
Whom most he resembles in Body or Mind.*

*Of our late pious Monarch, no Marks he retains
But a constant ill Conduet, ill Luck, and no Brains :
Through him all our hopes were in Portugal cross'd,
And Dunkirk alas! by his folly was lost :
The Plague of our Counsels, and Cause of our Woes,
Fresh losses attend him whereever he goes.
Well Fortune I'll call thee a Strumpet no more,
For wer't thou in truth and in earnest a Whore,
Thou ought'st to have favour'd him more than another,
And shown him respect for the sake of his Mother.*

Let

Let Charles send an Envoy to the Mansions above,
 And let the late King all our Doubts to remove,
 Tell us whether he'll own Don John for his Son,
 Since more were concern'd, as the Rumour does run.
 His Mother, we know, was a good natur'd Dame,
 That strove to oblige all Strangers that came.
 If Philip at last in his Judgment was gull'd;
 Pray is this the first time that the Monarch was fool'd?

*En sus desinios penetro
 Por una y por otra acion.
 Que no tiene otra entencion
 Don Juan, que empefiar el Cetro:
 Abrenuncio vade retro
 Hi de Dame para el,
 Reyno, Enrique y un fiel, (a)
 Noble y valiente le admira
 Hasta el dia de oy suspira
 La Lealtad por el cruel. (b)*

*O Carlos gran Rey de Espana,
 No te espantes ni te admire,
 Que el mundo todo suspira
 Con oppressiion tan estrana
 No es porque el pueblo engana
 El pretexto del rumor,
 Si no que es tanto el amor
 De la plebe lastimosa
 Es solo ana vos quexosa
 Que les oprime el dolor*

By his Conduct 'tis plain both to Country and Town,
 That his haughty Designs tend all to the Crown;
 But durst he aspire, and make such a Pothee,
 If he'd ever reflect on the Strumpet his Mother?

(a) Don Enrique II.

(b) Don Petro el cruel Matado por Don Enrique Suermano natural.

Brava

*Brave (a) Henry 'tis true, tho a Bastard, did reign,
But tho his Exploits are so famous in Spain,
So seldom to serve our true Prince we have fail'd,
That in spite of the Tyrant, Don (b) Pedro's be-
(wail'd.*

*Awake mighty Charles, and thy Sceptre assume,
Let the Arrogant Wretch feel the weight of his Doom.
And be not amazed that the People thus cry,
Under all the Oppressions and Burdens they lie.
Though too loudly they rail at the Plague of the Age,
Their Zeal to thy Person excuses their Rage.
And if they repine, and are heard to complain,
It proceeds from the Smart and Excess of their Pain.*

Don Juan found these Verses upon his Toilette, and in several other places of his Chamber; he was more concerned at them, than in reason he ought to be, for certainly he could never be so vain as to imagine that he was equally acceptable to all the World. These Resentments having sowed and exasperated his Spirit, he observed that the Conversation of the Count de Monterey diverted the King; this was enough to render him suspected; and altho this Nobleman had set himself at the Head of a Party, which declared for the Princes Return, yet all his Services were forgot, and the Prejudices of Jealousie, which are sometimes too headstrong to be mastered, made Don Juan send him to command in Catalonia.

He afterwards banished him, and what is more, ordered a Trial to be commenced against him about the affair of Puicerda: Thus the unfortunate Count saw himself all in a Moment re-

(a) Henry the Bastard King of Castile.

(b) Pedro the cruel King of Castile, turned out of his Kingdom by Henry the Bastard in 1366, and 1367.

moved from Court, where he flattered himself long to continue in the King's and Princes favour. But that Monarch was young, and destitute of Experience, and besides laboured under the ill Effects of a bad Education; for a Minister that regards nothing in the world but what has a particular relation to his own Interests, will be sure to keep back those Lights from his Prince, that may help him afterwards to discover by what an ill Conduct he is managed. *Don Juan* was very well acquainted with the Policy of this Maxim, and accordingly took care to conceal the affairs of State from the King, with as much Precaution as the Priests keep their Mysteries from the People. To make himself always necessary to him, he never instructed him in the Art of governing, but perpetually amused him with some little insignificant Diversions, that possessed his tender years with a Spirit of Laziness, which could never fail to produce ill Consequences afterwards, and never gave him leave to stir a foot out of the Palace but in his own Company.

The People that are never sensible of Events, but at the very Moment when they feel the Smart, had perhaps looked upon the Banishment of the Lords, and the captivity of their King with an indifferent Eye, if they had not been Sufferers themselves. But the great Scarcity of Provisions that were daily enhanced, the irregular Administration of Justice, and the disorderly Management of the *Finances*, made them soon sensible, that the changing of Masters is not always for the better. And as it is natural to run headlong from one extream into another, and the just Limits of carrying on a Reformation are known but to a very few Persons, so they began to disrelish the Regency, and to shew a Disaffection,

faction, that might easily have been improv'd into an insurrection, but that the anger of the People of *Spain* is generally weak and feeble, and 'tis not only upon these occasions that the apparent fierceness of that Nation goes off, and vanishes. For 'tis very true, that the People content themselves there with railing and murmuring, so that if there was any thing to be feared it was from the *Grandeess*, who notwithstanding their banishment, left very considerable Relations and Friends behind them at Court: These being concerned to see them exiled, began privately to join and associate for the same Cause; they proceeded so far as to signify to the Queen that they passionately desir'd her return, and that she ought to attempt something on her side, as they were resolv'd to do something on theirs, and in short they took an occasion to discourse the King about the matter.

They made him sensible that he was under a slavish ignominious dependance, and confirmed him in his natural inclinations to take the Government of the State into his own hands.

He relished very well the overtures they made him, and the Queen likewise received her informations not without pleasure; but it was not enough to wish well, something of Action was necessary: for the King was young, wanted assistance, and every one shifted it off from himself to another. The pleasures of the Court, and that laziness which is so peculiar to the *Spaniards* made them advance so slowly in their affairs, that Don *Joan* had leisure enough to destroy in one day the Foundations they had been laying for several weeks. The Queen for her part was under a confinement, which held her chained to the place, so that she could attempt nothing without being discovered. She was afraid too of find-
ing

ing Traitors among her own Servants, and drawing new Disgraces upon her, whilst she endeavoured to free her self from those she lay under at present. What was past instructed her in some measure to fear and avoid what was to come

As she is naturally of a slow disposition, so after long reflections upon the matter, she was of the opinion, that she ought not by any precipitate actions hazard the future repose of her life.

Don Juan on his side was alarm'd with continual fears and jealousies; and having abundance of Spies about him, he was instructed of what he did not care to hear, the unwearied designs that were daily form'd against him. Notwithstanding the great Authority and Power, with which he was invested, he could not forbear very sensibly to apprehend the bad consequences of an aversion, that began to be entertained so generally against him.

He was in a manner Responsible for all the good and all the bad successes of the State, and the Weight of so cumberfom a Monarchy hung very heavy about him. He sometimes considered with regret the Tranquility he had formerly enjoyed in *Flanders* and *Aragon*; in fine his Spirit was not in its natural Sphere, and we may say of him, that he even overbought the pleasure of making so great a figure on the Theatre of the World.

The War that was kindled 1672. between *France* and *Holland*, interested several Princes of *Europe*, who took their sides in it, either according to their several Inclinations, or else the particular engagements they had to the Powers, that were then at variance. *Spain*, which is always inseparable from the interests of the Empire, neither spared her Mony nor Forces upon

this occasion, when the *Hollanders* made a peace with *France* first in the year 1678. The Emperor and some of the Princes of the Empire followed their Example, nay *Spain* could not hinder it self from doing the like. The King of *Denmark* and Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who as yet kept their Swords in their hands still, laid them down likewise, and a Peace was concluded at *Nimeguen*, that gave Repose to all *Europe*.

In the mean time the King of *Spain* was upon the point off marrying the Arch-Dutchess, the Emperor's Daughter: This Affair was so far advanced, that the Articles were regulated, and the Contract signed. This Marriage was of the Queen's doing, who earnestly desired the Accomplishment of it; but *Don Juan* at his Return broke of this Match, not being desirous to strengthen his Enemies Party, as it must assuredly have been by the Accession of this young Princess, who was of the same Name and same Country with the Queen, and besides all this, was her Grand Daughter and Neice. He too much feared the ill Consequences of this Affair to give his consent to it.

The King about his nineteenth year seemed to be settled in a healthful State of body, which promised Successors to the Crown, and he expressed a great Inclination to be married; he considered that of the House of *Austria* he alone was left remaining of the Spanish Branch, and that his whole Kingdom had an equal interest to see him have Children.

The Circumstances of the Peace, that hapned to be concluded at *Nimeguen*, made him cast his Eyes upon Mademoiselle, Eldest Daughter of Monsieur, who was the Kings only Brother. She was almost of his own age, amiable, well-shaped, of a sweet Disposition, witty and charming:

ing: All her inclinations were noble and virtuous, and *Lewis* the Great took an extraordinary affection to her, because her Humour so exactly suited with his, so that all the Courtiers were surprized at it.

The King had accidentally seen some Portraits of this Princess, and several Spanish Lords who had been at the Court of *France* spake of her as a Prodigy. These advantagious Testimonies so luckily concurring, sensibly affected him, he could not take his rest a nights, he carried her Picture next his Heart, and held long Conversations with it, as if it understood him. But what is the most incredible thing of all, and yet is related for a certain Truth, is this, that before he became enamoured he could not endure any Woman near him, but these Dispositions were altered in him upon this occasion, and he beheld the fair Sex never after with Aversion.

All the People were ravished with Joy to hear that the King desired Mademoiselle. The Memory of Queen *Elizabeth* of *France*, the first Wife of *Philip* the IV. was so deeply imprinted upon the Hearts of all the *Spaniards*, that they desired to see one of the same blood sit upon the Throne again.

Don Juan agreed with the Kings inclinations, as well as those of the People in Relation to this Princess. He sent orders to the Marquess *de los Balbazex* in *Flanders*, who was come from *Nimeguen*, where he had assisted at the Treaty of Peace, to go and demand Mademoiselle for the King his Master.

Every one was surprized that the Prince lent his helping Hand to this Affair. True Policy would have required him to protract as long as he was able and to delay the Marriage, because

as it gave a Wife to the King, so it might perhaps give an Enemy to the Favourite.

And here many People could not forbear to call to mind the first Ideas of that Ambition, of which he was suspected; now it was for good and all to abandon the Design of making himself declared Infant, to content himself with reigning after the King, in case he had no Children. Many Persons do likewise pretend, that notwithstanding the great Earnestness he shewed in publick, yet he had no over great Desire to have the Match succeed. They alledge this for a Reason, that he ought to have done something before so open an Embassy, by way of secret Dispatches, which might absolutely have had the Success of a Negotiation: But that at the Bottom, whatever he did or whatever he said to the contrary, he did not heartily desire it; that he was afraid lest a French Queen, supported by the Authority of the greatest King in the World, would never truckle to him; that now he was Master, but hereafter would become no more than a Companion, Others were of the contrary opinion, and said that he had a fair Prospect of being well received by Mademoiselle, especially since he had broke off the Marriage with the Arch Dutches, and given the Preference to her. These different Considerations embarrassed and perplexed *Don Juan* to such a Degree, that he knew not which way to determine himself, and even at the very time that the Marquess *de los Balbarez* demanded the Princess in *France*, he very cunningly got the King at *Madrid* to see the Portraiture of the Infanta of *Portugal*, who was a Lady of admirable Beauty: He talked exceedingly of her Charms, and not knowing as yet that her Marriage with the Duke of *Savoy* was agreed upon, he

he underhand made a Proposal to give her to the King ; but he was too deeply gone to alter his Affections.

The Demand made by *Don Balbarez* was very agreeable to his most Christian Majesty, and *Don Juan* who received Advice of it, did not at first doubt of its Success. Therefore he now endeavoured to overshoot the favourable Dispositions of *France*, either to promote his own interest by it, or else by demanding things that were too great, to meet a Refusal, and by that means to find a plausible Pretence to break off. In effect, he pretended that Mademoiselle not being the Daughter of a King, they ought therefore for that reason on the side of the French Court to enter into particular Considerations, and restore to *Spain* some of those Places, that were yielded up to *France* by the last Treaty of *Nimeguen*.

Upon this he held a Council, where he was desirous to insinuate his own Sentiments into them, but he found no body inclined to hearken to them. Every one concluded, that they ought to have nothing else in view but the King's Satisfaction ; that they were happy enough in finding out a Princess, that was beautiful and capable to give them a Sovereign, and that they ought not to take pains to destroy a thing of that Consequence, which all the World so earnestly desired to see accomplished.

The Queen who continued still very solitary at *Toledo*, and who was consulted in no affairs, wrote a Letter to the King, wherein she told him, she had received Information that he was going to be married, that she counselled him in the mean time, while that Affair was carrying on, to go to *Arragon*, and *Catalonia*, to confirm the ancient Privileges of those People. The King sent

her barely word again that he would do it, without explaining himself more openly upon his Marriage.

Ever since the twenty fourth of *January* 1679. the King had nominated those Persons who were to fill up the respective Offices of the House of the new Queen. The Dutcheſs *de Terra Nova* was made *Camarera Major*, that is, first Lady of Honour, but her Power is of a greater Extent than that of the other Ladies of Honour; because she is Mistress of all the Women that serve the Queen in her Palace. She is the Widow of the Duke *de Terra Nova*, who was of the House of *Pignatelli*, and a Grandee of *Spain*. She inherited a vast Fortune that descended to her from *Fernando Cortez*, for her Mother bore the Name of that famous Captain, who left her a small Kingdom in the *West Indies*, tho he might, if he pleased, have left her a more considerable one in that Part of the World, where he made so great a Progress.

She is descended of a Branch of the House of *Arragon*, that settled a long while ago in *Sicily*; she is extremely rich, of a fierce imperious Humour towards Persons that are above her, insupportable to her Equals, but kind and obliging to her Inferiours. She has a world of Wit, is fixed in her Resolutions, and is of a deep penetrating Spirit: Her Temper cold and serious, still preserving her Spanish Gravity, and never steps a foot backward or forward unless she has well considered of it before. She thunders out her *I will*, or *I will not*, enough to make one tremble.

She is a meager pale Woman, of a long and wrinkled Viſage, her Eyes little and severe, in short she makes a dangerous terrible Enemy. *Don Carlos* of *Arragon* her Cousin German was assassinated by the Banditti, whom she caused expressly for that purpose to come from *Valentia*, because

because he demanded of her Restitution of the Dutchy of *Terra Nova*, which was in her Possession, altho of right it belonged to him.

The terrible Noise this Affair made in the World, obliged her to retire into *Arragon*, where *Don Juan* relided at that time, deeply afflicted at his Misfortunes.

Both of them imagined, that they had reason to complain of the Severity of their Fortune, and this soon occasioned a certain Friendship between them, as it usually happens amongst Persons of their Quality when they come to be involved in the same Circumstances. After they had frequently conversed with one another, the Prince found out part of the Dutchesse's Humour; he knew she was ambitious, but as all the other ill qualities of her Soul were outwardly set off by the appearance of a great Devotion, he never took her for so malicious and spiteful a Devil, as she really was. He therefore cast his Eyes upon her to make her *Camarera Major* for the young Queen.

The Marquess *d' Astorgas* was nominated at the same time to be Grand Master of her House. *Don Juan* had some thoughts at first of conferring this Office upon *Don Vincente Gonzaga* of the House of *Manrua*, and made him quit his Viceroyship of *Sicily* to come and possess it, which the other freely left, in Consideration of the Place, that was now offered him. But his Expectations were deceived; for the Marquess *d' Astorgas*, who had heaped up a prodigious Wealth when he was Viceroy of *Naples*, having profered the use of it to *Don Juan*, who mightily stood in need of Mony at that time and accepted the Profer, was preferred to *Don Vincente*, who was admitted however into the Council

Council of State, where his great Abilities, without Question, did great Service.

Altho the Duke *d' Ossone* continued as yet in exile, *Don Juan* did not forget to nominate him for Master of the Horse to the Queen; he bestowed that Place upon him only that he might have an opportunity to take away from him that of the President of the Orders, where his Conduct it seems did not please him. He affected a certain Air of Devotion that sat very disagreeably upon him, because he mixed too much Bigotry with it, and it was a strange sort of Bigotry too; for this good Duke one evening caused the Count *d' Humanes* to be set upon in the Streets by some men of *Valencia*, who never come to *Madrid* but to commit Murders and other Crimes of that nature. The occasion of the Quarrel was this, the Duke was passionately in Love with a certain Lady, and soon after came to discover that the Count was a more fortunate man than himself. Nevertheless the Count escaped the Danger. This affair made a great Bustle; *Don Juan* who was particularly disgusted at the Duke, laid hold of this opportunity to banish him the Court, but now procured this considerable post for him, that he might gain over to his party a man of so great an importance; besides it was his interest to see the Chief Offices of the Queen's House filled with those Persons that were at his Devotion, and might prepossess the mind of that young Princess in favour of him. The other Officers of her House were likewise nominated about the the beginning of *March*.

At the same time the Marquess *de Mansera*, Major Domo to the Queen-Mother was fined a hundred thousand Crowns, which he paid upon the Nail. After this manner the King sometimes

times punishes the Crimes that the Grandees commit against him. He was soon after banished to the Castle *de Cocchia*, and his place was given to the Count *de Chinchon*. But the Queen being highly incensed at these Proceedings, declared that she would never suffer it, alledging that the Widow of *Philip* the fourth, and Mother of *Charles* the second ought not to be treated after this unworthy manner; so they were forced to let the matter drop, and proceed no farther in it.

There happened a little after another business, that occasioned a great Clamour. *Don Francisco de Toledo*, second Son of the Duke of *Alva*, the Count *de Mirande* Grandee of *Spain*, the Marquess *de Valero* Son of the Duke *de Bejar*, and the eldest Son of the Duke *de Sessa* occasioned the Escape of a man, that was accused of great Crimes. The manner whereby they brought it about, was this. They sent a Woman with a Basket of Fish to stand near the Prison, she sold such good Pennyworths there, that a man appointed for the purpose having informed the Jaylor, and the Keepers of it, they presently ran to the place to buy some Fish. The Woman amused them with abundance of foolish Stories so well, that she succeeded in her Design, for in the mean time the above-mentioned Lords broke open the Prison Gates.

The King ordered all of them to be arrested, however this Affair, like others of the same nature at *Madrid*, brought no ill Consequences upon them.

The King took all the care imaginable to have the young Queens Apartments in the Palace fitted up, and made ready. He was to have gone according to the usual Custom, in the Month of *April* to *Aranjuez*, but *Don Juan* hindred

hindred him, because that place was too near *Toledo*, so he went to *Buen-Retiro*. The Queen-Mother wrote to him thither, desiring that he would be pleased to come and see her; but tho she press'd it with a great deal of Tenderness and Importunity, she was not able to succeed in her Desires.

He diverted himself every day with hunting and seeing Comedies, either at *Pardo* or *Zarzuela*, which are two Houses of Pleasure belonging to the King of *Spain*. The Opera d' *Alcine* was represented before him, it cost a world of Mony, but was miserably performed.

There was likewise a Bull-feast kept, where two young Cavaliers unfortunately perished. On the following day there was running at the Ring.

About this time the Prince de *Ligne* arrived, and a day or two after kissed his Majesty's hand, and took his Place at the Council of State. Father *Francis de Relux* a Dominican came likewise from *Salamanca*, where he had been Professor of Divinity, and was chosen by *Don Juan* to be the Kings Confessor. The Duke of *Alva* had engaged that he should submit himself intirely to *Don Juan's* Will, who accepted him upon his Parole. At this time the Cardinal de *Portacarero* Archbishop of *Toledo* returned from *Rome*. The Court at *Madrid* was very full and numerous.

On the twentieth of *January* the King of *France* named the Marquess de *Villars* to be his Ambassador in *Spain*, who was at that time under the same Character at *Savoy*. He was known to the Court of *Spain*, for in the year 1673. he resided there in Quality of Ambassador; he arrived at *Madrid* on the seventeenth of *June*, and those Persons that were well acquainted with the Disposition of *Don Juan*, very much doubted whether he would meet with

that Reception, which he might reasonably promise himself: They knew well enough that the natural Haughtiness of *Don Juan* would never comply with the Instructions of that Minister, who, to be sure would never go to visit the Prince, unless he were assured beforehand of receiving the honour of the Hand, the Step and the Chair; that *Don Juan* would never consent to this Proposal, because it was not to be imagined that he would easily give up the rights he had obtained over the other Ambassadors, and that it would be an inconvenient thing for him of *France* not to treat directly with the chief Minister. What People surmised upon this occasion really happened, for the Prince would not bate him an Ace, and the Marquess *de Villars* kept fast to his Instructions. Therefore they looked upon one another with great coldness, but nevertheless this did not hinder the Ambassador from having a private Audience of the King on the eighth of *July*, and a publick one a little after, upon the conclusion of his Marriage with Mademoiselle.

Don Juan had three Fits of a Tertian Ague towards the beginning of *July*. On the thirteenth the Secretary of the Marquess *de los Balbarez* arrived, who brought word that the King had consented to the Marriage of Mademoiselle with the King of *Spain*: Nothing is equal to the Joy that he shew'd upon this Account, for he had expected the news with the greatest Impatience. He ordered *Te Deum* to be sung at our Ladies *d' Atocha*, all the Houses in the City were illuminated with white Wax Tapers, and Bonfires were to be seen in every Street. An hundred and fifty Cavaliers of the best Families in the Kingdom performed a Masquerate on horseback, that consisted only of some Embroiderie, Tiffany

Tiffany Ribbons and Feathers; for they were apparalled in black as they used to be, but were not masqued at all. After this manner they ran all night, every man carrying a Flambeaux in his Hand: All these Divertisements lasted three Days and three Nights. A Courier arrived soon after, who brought the Contract of the King's Marriage, this was soon communicated to the Queen-Mother, who express'd a great deal of Joy at it. The Ratification was presently sent back, and Bonfires were made as before.

While the People did thus endeavour to express their Zeal to the King, the Servants of the Queen-Mother were busied in finding out some means or other to advance her Return. The Marquess *de Villars* had refused to follow the example of the other Ambassadors in the Conduct they used towards *Don Juan* upon the occasion of those new customs, which they suffered him to establish; and this seemed a favourable opportunity to perswade the Enemies of the Prince, that Monsieur *de Villars* had some secret Instructions which were not favourable to him. They flattered themselves immediately with the hopes of making him one of their party, and believed it would extreamly strengthen their own side if they could once bring him over to them. Upon this Consideration, the greater Part of the Cortiers applauded him mightily for his Constancy, and made him abundance of Complements upon that Score. He was respected at *Madrid*, and had the good fortune to find out several of his Friends again, and the Queen-Mother shewed a particular Esteem for him. She gave him a very obliging proof of this, when he came to wait upon her at *Toledo*; for after publick Audience was over, she was pleased to entertain

entertain him in private about her own Affairs, and testified what an entire Confidence she reposed in him: But altho several Proposal were made to him, to be of a Party against the Prince, and besides his own natural Disposition led him to espouse the Quarrel of those Persons who opposed a Minister, whose civilities he had no great reason to applaud, yet he was of opinion that in this present Conjunction it would be his best way to remain Neuter.

He considered still, that the Marriage of the King of *Spain* with Mademoiselle would bring along with it some Agreements that were not to be expected before the Arrival of that Princess, that it was a sure unfailing way to oppose one Power to another, that this young Princess would never suffer the Minister of *France* to be run down in that Court where she was to become the Mistress and sole Delight, that it was certain she would link her self to the interests of the Queen Mother; that the most Christian Queen who loved both the one and the other very affectionately, would be sure to give her this in charge before her Departure amongst the other Counsels, which she was always to observe; that their Credit being united together and seconded by all those Persons, that desired another Government, *Don Juan* would without question find himself obliged to give way. Most Persons reasoned after the same manner upon this Affair, and encouraged one another to stand firm against the Favourite; they now began to speak those Things aloud which before they were almost afraid to mutter in private; they complained of him, and importuned the King to call the Exiles home, and openly promoted the Return of the Queen-Mother. *Don Juan* was now more disquieted

disquieted than ever: The Appearance only of his fall had prevailed with several Persons, who ought to have been his Creatures, to abandon him for good and all; and as for those that remained, they had neither Authority, nor Merit enough to support him. He could scarce find any Comfort but when he was alone, but this sort of Conduct does not always afford a man a Sanctuary; for even the Silence, the Retirement, and the infinite Reflections we make are rather apt to perplex and disturb, than to relieve our Spirits. He was still more afflicted, when he saw some of his Friends, or at least such as he believed to be so, embrace the interests that were directly opposite to his, and he knew they employed the Confessor's credit with the King to bring all these matters about.

I have already told you, that *Don Juan* was the man who caused him to come from *Salamanca*, and after he had advanced him to this Preferment, thought he might ever after have him at his Devotion. Nevertheless, whether he had promised him nothing, or really broke his word, 'tis certain he quitted the Prince's party, and caballed amongst his Enemies. Some People pretend that this proceeded from a Principle of Conscience, but it is impossible that ingratitude should ever flow from a good Principle. However it was, he obtained for the Princess *de Stillano*, who was the Duke of *Alva's* Daughter, the Return of her Husband. *Don Juan* had absolutely refused it, and found so little Credit upon this occasion, that he was sensibly afflicted at it: For the thing it seems was pushed so far, that the King out of pure Complaisance to his Confessor said, *it signifies nothing that Don Juan opposes it, 'tis enough that I would*
have

have it so. These few words very much increased the Prince's Melancholy; but as Misfortunes seldom come unattended, there happened another Mortification upon the Account of the Duke of *Offone*, who was in the number of the Exiles. The Prince had sent him notice by some of his Friends, that he desired him to throw up his Place of Master of the Horse to the new Queen, which he had lately bestowed upon him; but he rejected his Proposal with the greatest Scorn imaginable. *Don Juan* was mightily enraged at it, and would have banished him farther off, to make him sensible of his Power, and of the Affront he had done him in pretending to oppose his Intentions: but he was so far from succeeding in his Project, that he saw the Duke de *Medina Celi*, who hitherto kept fair Measures with him, had prevailed with the King to recall the Duke d' *Offone*. The Son of the Duke de *Medina Celi* had married the Daughter of the Duke d' *Offone*, and this occasioned the great Friendship between them. The Pretence was, that it was necessary for him to be with the Queen, and the Duke de *Medina Celi*, having found a favourable Opportunity, told the King that he was not a little concerned to see a man of the Duke d' *Offone*'s Quality, who had the honour to possess one of the highest Offices in the Queen's House, banished so far from Court, at a time when all those Persons that ought to serve her, should be making Preparations to meet her. The King consented to his Return, as likewise to the Count de *Monterey*'s, upon Condition that they should neither make nor receive any Visits at *Madrid*.

A general Custom seldom fails to hold true for any particular Persons, and 'tis an usual observation, that when we begin to receive any one

Misfortune, we ought to expect another. *Don Juan* being perswaded that he was not happy enough to be excepted from this invidious Rule, was desirous to strengthen his Party by the Authority of the Constable of *Castile*; but he met with a very unlucky Rub in his way, for having engaged the Duke of *Alva* to propose an Accommodation to him, the Constable calling to mind the insupportable Pride wherewith *Don Juan* had formerly treated him, and therefore still looking upon the Prince as his formidable Enemy, answered very coldly, that the time was past. To encrease his troubles, all those that were exiled came into favour, for they took an opportunity to solicit their Return whilst he was sick, and made such Advantages of that Conjunction, and pushed matters so home, that the King was resolved to call home the Queen-Mother. While they were deliberating upon the Conduct, that was to be observed in this Affair, the King held a long Conversation with the Inquisitor General; he sent his Confessor to acquaint the Duke *de Medina Celi* of the House *de la Cerda*, and the Count *d' Oropesa* of the House of *Braganza* to meet at an appointed Hour at the Inquisitors. When they were met, the King sent them word by the aforementioned Father *Relux* to advise him of the best Method to remove *Don Juan*, and recall the Queen-Mother. The day was spent in Conference, and after all, it was unanimously agreed that the King should depart from the Palace as if he were going out to hunt, and that before his Return he should send word to the Prince to withdraw immediately. This Project was not put in Execution, the Prince knew not a syllable of the matter, and for want of resolution and courage the design fell.

On the twenty sixth of *June*, a Bull-feast was kept,

kept, where there was very good Sport, at the same time the Marquess *de Fuentes* got to be made Counsellor of the military Affairs. The King gave Orders to the Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber, who were to meet the Queen upon the way, to furnish themselves with three Suits of Clothes apeece; and two of them were to be after the *French* fashion.

Our Ambassador made his Entry on the thirteenth of *August*, and we did not fail to go to some of our Friends to behold the Show. 'Tis a Custom there for the King to send the Ambassador a certain number of Horses out of his own Stable both for himself and his Attendants, for the Ambassadors make their Entry on Horseback; next morning the *Major Domo* in waiting, the Conductor of the Ambassadors and his Deputy accompanied him from his own House to the Palace. In his publick Audience, which he had of the King, he always spoke in *French*; the Procession of his Entry was a long time interrupted by the Opiniatreté of the Ambassador of *Malta*, who pretended that his Coach ought immediately to follow that of the *Venetian* Ambassador, who was the last Ambassador of the Chappel, in such manner that he was got before the second Coaches of the Marquess *de Villars*: But to put an End to the Dispute, the Conductor of the Ambassadors was sent to the Palace, where every thing was adjusted to the Advantage of the Ambassador of *France*, and the Pretensions of him of *Malta*, who was *Don Diego de Bracamonte*, were adjudged to be ill grounded, since the Ambassadors of Crowned Heads never gave him the right Hand at their Houses. After some Instances on his side, his Coach withdrew; he is the first Ambassador of *Malta* that ever aspired to this Honour.

Don Rodrigo de Silva de Mendoza, Duke of *Pastrane* & of *l' Infantado*, having been named by the King to go Ambassador extraordinary into *France*, and to carry the presents of Marriage to *Mademoiselle*, went immediately to *Toledo* to receive Orders of the Queen-Mother, and being returned to *Madrid*, he departed from thence with a dozen Postillions, and six Trumpeters clad in green Velvet embroidered with Gold: He had several Gentlemen, and Pages with him, and his two Brothers *Don Joseph*, and *Don Gaspar de Silva* accompanied him in his Journey. *Donna Catarina de Mendoza* his Mother gave him twenty thousand Pistoles, and five thousand to each of his Brothers. He was descended in a right line from Father to Son of *Rui Gomez* Prince of *Eboli*, who was made Duke of *Pastrane* by King *Philip II.* whose *Privado* or principal Favourite he was, as his Wife, whose Beauty has made so great a Noise in the World, was his Mistress. The King named the Marchionesses of *Mortare*, the Marchionesses of *Fresno*, the Countesses of *Santorcas*, the Countesses of *Dayala*, and the Marchionesses of *Castra Forte* to be Ladies of Honour to the Queen; and for Maids of Honour the Daughters of the Dutchesses of *Sessa* & of *Frias*, those of the Marchionesses of *Alcanisa*, of the Countesses of *Villambrosa*, of the Marchionesses of *Villa Franca*, of the Marchionesses of *Villa Manriquez*, those of the Dukes of *Hijar* and of *Albe*, of the Counts of *Paredes*, and of *Arcos*, the Sisters of the Duke of *Vareguas*, and the Marquesses of *Goaar*; the Daughters of the Duke of *Hijar*, and *Pastrane* were to be *Menines* or young Ladies of Honour: They are not above ten years old, and are the prettiest Ladies I have seen in *Spain*. *Donna Laura* of *Alarcon* was named to be the Mother of the Maids of Honour, the Sons of the Marquesses

Marqueſs *de Villa Mariquez*, and of the Count of *St. Stephen* to be *Menins* or Pages to the Queen, the Marqueſs *d' Astorgas Major Domo Major*, the Dutcheſs *de Terra Nova* to be *Camarera Major* of the young Queen. All theſe Ladies went to *Toledo* to take their Leave of the Queen-Mother, and at their Return they went ſtrait down to the Palace, where he took Poſſeſſion of thoſe Chambers that were allotted to them. The King preſented a thouſand Piſtoles to every Maid of Honour to bear the expence of their Journey, with a Penſion of a thouſand Ducats. He gave the Title of Grandee to *Dón Francis Maria Spinola* a Gentleman of *Genoa*, Duke *de S. Pierre*, and Son in Law to the Marqueſs *de los Balbarez*: He was a young Lord very well ſhaped and accompliſhed. At the ſame time the Count *de Talara* brought the King a Reſignation of his Office of Maſter of the Horſe, the Averſion between him and the Admiral of *Caſtile* made him unwilling to execute his Orders, and ſince he ſaw himſelf recalled from Banishment, he thought it the beſt way to leave the Court.

A Courier arrived from *Cales* on the twenty-second of *Auguſt*, who brought the News of the ſafe Arrival of the *Gallions* that were computed to be worth thirty Millions, but above half the Treſure belonged to the Merchants. They were once minded to ſeize the whole Cargo to defray the Charge of the Marriage, and to ſerve for other occaſional Expences. However after a long conſideration, the Council finding it would utterly ruin all Commerce deſiſted from the Deſign.

The Miniſters and Grandees went to comple- ment the King on *St. Lewis's* day, becauſe it was the Birth-day of the young Queen; he received them with a more pleaſant Air than was

his usual manner, and having abundance of precious Stones in his Hat, he told them that he wore them *for the sake of the Queen*. The Cardinal *Portocarero* came to wait upon his Majesty, he went from *Madrid* to *Toledo* very much discontented; and told some persons, that if the King did not receive him with more honour, than he did the first time, he would never come back again to Court; but he had reason enough now to be satisfied, for as he came out of the Coach he found the Halberdiers of the Guards under their Arms, touching the Pavement with their Halberds, as they always use to do when the King passes by. So great and so welcom a Reception made him resolve not to give the right hand to Ambassadors and to the Grandees, which at first a little displeased some People, but the Dukes *de Medina Celi*, *d' Ossone*, and *Alva*, the Popes Nuncio, and the *Venetian* Ambassador having made him a Visit, were pleased to submit to the new Regulation he had established, which some others followed after their Example.

When it was known at *Madrid*, that our King was to swear to the Peace at *Fountainbleau* on the last day of *August*, the King of *Spain* came about four a clock in the afternoon to the great gilded Hall of the Palace, to perform this Ceremony on his side. The Marquess *de Villars* came to the Palace, where he was received by the Master of the Ceremonies: The Constable of *Castile* followed by all the *Major Domo's* received him at the Gate of the first Hall; he passed through several Rooms, each more magnificent than the other, and hung with the richest Tapistry in the world. At the upper end of the Hall there was a Scaffold erected, covered with *Persian* Tapistry grounded with Gold, it was ascended by three Steps, the King's Throne

was

was placed upon it, all embroidered with large Pearls and precious Stones of admirable Beauty and Splendor. The Cardinal *Portocarero* sat upon a Chair of State, the Constable of *Castile* upon a little low Stool; our Ambassador seated himself upon another Bench, the Patriarch of the *Indies* continued standing: The King came followed by his Grandees and sat down, and those whose right it was to sit down and be covered, did it. *Don Pedro Colonna* Secretary of State read with a loud Voice the Commission which our King had sent to the Marquess de *Villars* to assist at this Ceremony in his stead. A little Silver Table was set before the King, on which a Crucifix and the Gospel was placed. The King kneeling, set his right hand upon the Book, all the while that the Cardinal read aloud the Oath which his Majesty took to keep Peace with *France*. When this was over, the Ambassador approached and made a Compliment to the King, who briefly answered him according to the Custom, and returned presently to his Apartment.

All the Court was now filled with Joy: A Masquerade on Horseback was kept in the great Court of the Palace; it was divided into two Squadrons which ran against one another. Prince *Alexander Farnese* Brother to the Duke of *Parma* led one, and the Duke de *Medina de las Torres* led the other. The King named the Constable of *Castile* and the Duke de *Medina Celi* to be Judges and Arbitrators of the Course.

The Marquess *Desiat* arrived at *Madrid* from the part of Monsieur, to make his Compliments to the King of *Spain*. He received him very kindly and as a Person of his merit deserved: he went to *Toledo* to wait upon the Queen-Mother, and came back immediately. On the

ninth of *August* a Courier from the Marquess *de los Balbarez* arrived at *Madrid*, who brought the happy news that the marriage of the King with Mademoiselle had been solemnized at *Fountain-bleau*, and this gave occasion to Masquerades on Horseback, and the Bonfires that were to be seen for three days together.

All this publick Rejoycing did not in the least diminish *Don Juan's* melancholy; and 'tis certain, the great Perplexity of mind he was under very much impaired his Health, and the Vigour of his Constitution. He was at a stand what Party to take, for as he had too much Bavery ever to think of giving way to his Enemies, so his Credit was not strong enough to put him in Capacity of resisting them. In this violent Condition, he was sensible enough that he should never be able to sustain the Weight of his Affliction, and to say the truth, it cost him his Life at last; But great men seldom complain when they become the Sport of Fortune, and after their Example *Don Juan* expected his last day with the Constancy and Steadiness of a Heroe, His Tertian Ague seized him again, and on the seventh of *September* he found himself so extreamly ill, that the Physicians acquainted the King that there was but little hopes of his Recovery. At this News his Majesty wept, and testified a sensible Grief. He ordered Cardinal *Portocarrero* to go to him and learn what Condition he was in; he appeared but little concerned, and prepared himself for Death like a good Christian and Philosopher: He comforted all his Friends with a wonderful Presence of mind, *A Man has lived long enough*, said he to them, *when he dies without having any thiog to reproach him, I mean in Relation to Honour: As for what Concerns my duty to God I have been too deficient,*

cient, and the time of my Repentance cannot be too long. He received the Holy *Viaticum*, and the King almost every other moment came into his Chamber, testifying a great deal of Friendship for him, and tenderly complained, that he would abandon him at a Juncture, when his Assistance was become so necessary to him. *Don Juan* made his Will, by which he constituted the King his Heir, he left almost all his Jewels to the young Queen, and the Queen-Mother, and named Cardinal *Portocarrero*, the Duke *de Medina Celi*, the Duke of *Alva*, and the President of *Castile* to be his Executors. He likewise gave Order, that as soon as ever he was dead, they should remove his Cabinet, which was filled with Papers of great Importance, out of his own Apartment to that of the King. This extream Illness of the Prince put some Stop to the publick Rejoycings that were resolved upon, and particularly to a Bull-feast, but however it did not hinder them from making fine artificial Fireworks in the Court of the Palace; nay he desired it himself, altho' he was troubled with a furious pain in his Head, that might very well be increased with the Noise of Rockets and Crackers. All this while his Physicians, who knew nothing of the profound melancholy wherein he was plunged, punished his body for an Indisposition, that was properly lodged in the mind, and made him suffer a sort of Martyrdom by the several Torments they inflicted upon him. In fine, this poor Prince died on the seventeenth of *September* 1679. on the very same day that his Father *Philip IV.* did. He was born in 1626. and abounded with a thousand good Qualities. A little time after his Birth, his Mother received the Habit of a religious Woman from the Hands of Pope *Innocent X.* who was then

ninth of *August* a Courier from the *Marquess de los Balbarez* arrived at *Madrid*, who brought the happy news that the marriage of the King with *Mademoiselle* had been solemnized at *Fountainbleau*, and this gave occasion to Masquerades on Horseback, and the Bonfires that were to be seen for three days together.

All this publick Rejoycing did not in the least diminish *Don Juan's* melancholy; and 'tis certain, the great Perplexity of mind he was under very much impaired his Health, and the Vigour of his Constitution. He was at a stand what Party to take, for as he had too much Bavery ever to think of giving way to his Enemies, so his Credit was not strong enough to put him in Capacity of resisting them. In this violent Condition, he was sensible enough that he should never be able to sustain the Weight of his Affliction, and to say the truth, it cost him his Life at last; But great men seldom complain when they become the Sport of Fortune, and after their Example *Don Juan* expected his last day with the Constancy and Steadiness of a Heroe, His Tertian Ague seized him again, and on the seventh of *September* he found himself so extreemly ill, that the Physicians acquainted the King that there was but little hopes of his Recovery. At this News his Majesty wept, and testified a sensible Grief. He ordered Cardinal *Portocarero* to go to him and learn what Condition he was in; he appeared but little concerned, and prepared himself for Death like a good Christian and Philosopher: He comforted all his Friends with a wonderful Presence of mind, *A Man has lived long enough*, said he to them, *when he dies without having any thiog to reproach him, I mean in Relation to Honour: As for what Concerns my duty to God I have been too deficient,*

cient, and the time of my Repentance cannot be too long. He received the Holy *Viaticum*, and the King almost every other moment came into his Chamber, testifying a great deal of Friendship for him, and tenderly complained, that he would abandon him at a Juncture, when his Assistance was become so necessary to him. *Don Juan* made his Will, by which he constituted the King his Heir, he left almost all his Jewels to the young Queen, and the Queen-Mother, and named Cardinal *Portocarero*, the Duke de *Medina Celi*, the Duke of *Alva*, and the President of *Castile* to be his Executors. He likewise gave Order, that as soon as ever he was dead, they should remove his Cabinet, which was filled with Papers of great Importance, out of his own Apartment to that of the King. This extream Illness of the Prince put some Stop to the publick Rejoycings that were resolved upon, and particularly to a Bull-feast, but however it did not hinder them from making fine artificial Fireworks in the Court of the Palace; nay he desired it himself, altho' he was troubled with a furious pain in his Head, that might very well be increased with the Noise of Rockets and Crackers. All this while his Physicians, who knew nothing of the profound melancholy wherein he was plunged, punished his body for an Indisposition, that was properly lodged in the mind, and made him suffer a sort of Martyrdom by the several Torments they inflicted upon him. In fine, this poor Prince died on the seventeenth of September 1679. on the very same day that his Father *Philip IV.* did. He was born in 1626. and abounded with a thousand good Qualities. A little time after his Birth, his Mother received the Habit of a religious Woman from the Hands of Pope *Innocent X.* who was then

then the Pope's Nuncio to King *Philip IV.* this Action of her retiring out of the World, justified her from abundance of Suspicions, which People entertained upon the Score of her imprudent Conduct. The King did not acknowledge him till the year 1642. He had the Grand Priory of *Malta* in *Castile* bestowed upon him, and was sent against the *Portugueses* with the Title of *Generalissimo* of the Armies by Sea and Land. After this he reduced the City of *Naples* to its obedience and went to *Flanders* to command the Troops there. He was Governour of the Low Countries, of *Burgundy* and *Charolois*; but he came back to march once more against the *Portugueses*. After the Death of the King his Father, he passed his time, as is above-mentioned, at *Consuegra*, the Ordinary Residence of the Grand Prior of *Castile*, and when the present King came to be of Age, he continued near him. On the twentieth his body was carried to the *Escorial*, and was interred in the *Pantheon*, for so the place is called where they lay the Bodies of the Kings of *Spain*, but those of the Princes and Princesses of the Royal Family are placed in a Vault which is not far from it; nay they don't lay the Bodies of the Queens of *Spain* in the *Pantheon* unless they have had Children. He left a very beautiful Daughter behind him, whom he had by a Person of great Quality. She is a religious Person among the *Carmelites* at *Madrid*, who are called *las Descalças Reales*.

The first Journey the King made after the Death of *Don Juan* was to go and visit the Queen-Mother. He parted the very same day from *Madrid*, and lay on the way at *Aranjuez*, and arrived the next day at *Toledo*. The Queen received him with great Testimonies of Tenderness, they mingled their Tears together as they embraced

braced one another, and dined, and afterwards entertained one another a long time in private. All those that accompanied the King, kissed her Majesty's hand; so after the day was agreed upon for her to come back to *Madrid*, he left her. We may easily believe, that she took but little time to prepare her self for a Journey that was so welcome to her. The King parted from *Madrid* on the twenty seventh, he lay again at *Aranjuez* and the next day he set forward to meet the Queen on the way that leads to *Toledo*. As soon as they met, he desired her to come into his Coach that they might discourse in private, and so he brought her to *Buen Retiro*, which is one of the King's Houses situate at the end of the City. There she rested her self for some time, till the House of the Duke *Duzeda* could be fitted up for her, which it seems she chose to reside in, because the Palace was not spacious enough to lodge the two Queens. It would be an endless Piece of Trouble to reckon up all the Persons of Quality, besides the vast Multitudes of People that accompanied their Majesties at their Arrival; and indeed this mighty Alteration of Fortune was very remarkable on the Queen-Mother's side. There was an universal Joy for her Return in the very same City, where but two years ago *Don Juan* was seen to enter as the Deliverer of his Country, and the Queen to go out like a meer Fugitive under all the weight of the publick Hatred. The King tarried there till evening, and there scarce passed a day over his Head, from the time he went to meet the Queen first on the Road, but he dined with her, and staid a long time in her Company.

All the new Queens Family were just upon the Point of going to meet her; the Dutchess

de Terra Nova made great Preparations, and since every body in a manner envied her for having so advantageous a Post, and *Don Juan* her Protector was dead, 'twas commonly believed that she would be obliged to resign it: But she foresaw and prevented all this by taking Possession of her Apartment in the Palace, from whence it was not so easie a matter to eject her now, as it would have been before. She departed on the twenty sixth of *September* with the Marquess *d' Astorgas*, and the whole Family of the Queen except the Duke *d' Ossone*, whose Equipage could not be got ready, because he was but just returned from his Banishment.

But before I carry on these *Memoirs* any farther, I judge it not amiss to speak a few words of some of the Lords that belonged to the Court when I was there. I shall particularly enlarge upon those that were of the Council of State, for it will be no small Satisfaction to the Reader to know the Characters of those Persons, whose names he meets so frequently. I shall not here speak of the Duke *de Medina Celi*, nor of the Constable of *Castile*, neither do I pretend to name them according to their Rank and Order, but shall only place them as they occur first to my Remembrance, and shall begin with

The Duke of *Alva* or *Dalbe*, of the Family of *Toledo*, he has a vast Estate and a considerable Revenue, and yet for all that, is not before hand in the World; he enjoys several good Places and a large Pension at Court. He was a witty obliging Person, and shew'd but little kindness to the Queen-Mother. He was 67 years old.

Dan Pedro de Arragon was formerly known by the name of the Marquess *de Pobar*, he endeavoured to relieve *Perpignan*, when he was General of the Horse, but had the ill Luck to fall
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into the Hands of the *French*, amongst whom he continued a Prisoner for some time. At his Return to *Madrid*, the King made him Governour to the Prince *Don Baltazar* his Son, who died by overheating himself, and was afterwards let Blood in vain. The King upon this was enraged against *Don Pedro*, banished him. When the King was dead, the Queen Regent called him home, and sent him Ambassador to *Rome*. After this he was made Viceroy of *Naples*, where according to the Custom he heaped a great Treasure together, and what is more remarkable, knew how to keep it, for this is not the Genius of that Nation. He was 77 years old.

The Admiral of *Castile* of the Family of *Henriquez*, descended from a Bastard of the Kings of *Castile*, was a great Lord, and better shaped than any in the Court: He was tall of Stature and well proportioned, the Air of his Face was great and noble, and he had a world of Wit, was of a gentle easie Deportment, and had nothing to trouble him, but only his being 58. years old. He had an excellent Talent at writing of Verses, which flowed naturally from him, and in these Diversions he employed himself more than in his Domestick Affairs. He was born a *Libertine*, and lived private, and could not fix himself so as to make a regular Court either to the King or the Chief Minister. He was of opinion that whatever is done by Constraint cannot be recompensed by all the Favours of Fortune, he communicated himself to a very few Persons, whether it were, because he had too exquisite and nice a Taste to accommodate himself to all the World, or because he was a Lover of Solitude, which the most delicious Gardens and the finest House in *Madrid* recommended to him. Formerly he kept some Mistresses, for whose Sakes he almost ruined

ed himself. He was Master of the Horse to the King.

The Marquess *d' Astorgas* of the Family *d' Ozo-rio* was in his time a person of the greatest Gallantry in the World, and notwithstanding the Disadvantage of being 68. years old, continued still to be so. He was of a chearful lively Spirit, and talked justly and well upon all occasions. He was Grand Master of the young Queens Horse. His Lady having entertained an implacable Jealousie and Hatred against a young beautiful Woman, for whom he had an extraordinary Affection, found an occasion to kill her, took out her Heart and made a Rago of it. When her Husband had eaten part of it, she asked him how he liked it, he answered very well. I am much surprized at it, says she, for 'tis the Heart of your Mistress, and immediately drew out her Head, all bloody as it was, from under her Farthingal, and so threw it upon the Table, where he was with several of his Friends. 'Tis easie to imagine how deeply he was concerned at so Tragical a Sight, she saved herself in a Convent, whether she retired full of Rage and Jealousie, and never stirred out of it. The Marquess's affliction was so great, that it had like to have made an end of him. He was exceeding rich.

The Prince *de Stillano* of the House of *Gusman*, and Duke *de Medina de las Torres*, had abundance of Wit, and if he had joyned a little more Experience to his natural Parts, had assuredly have been capable of the greatest Things. But he was never out of *Madrid*, and lived an effeminate lazy Life there, which alienated his mind from all manner of Business. He lived at *la Floride* near the Gates of *Madrid*, where he had charming Gardens, and continued there under

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so unconcerned a State, that he neither received nor made any Visits, and never endeavoured to draw any Advantages from the Court; he had a prodigious Estate, but for all that it was sufficiently intangled, for want of putting every thing in order. When he married the Daughter of Duke *d' Albe* he ordered a Sedan to be made for her all covered over with Plates of Gold, and garnished with Coral; but when it was finished, no body was found strong enough to carry it. He was 42. years old, and was deeply in the interests of the Queen-Mother.

The Duke *d' Ossone* of the House *de' Giron* was Master both of good and bad Qualities, that equally distinguished him. He loved his Friends passionately, and served them freely with his Credit and Purse, he was of a liberal Temper, and a great Adorer of Ladies, sparing no Cost to ingratiate himself with them; he was an irreconcilable Enemy, and withal was of a proud haughty imperious Humour, that made him insupportable to all the World: And yet his Conversation was diverting and pleasant enough, when he could leave off his Grandeur and Rhodomontadoes. He was a man of an inflexible Steadiness, and always had some Quarrel or other in Court or City. He was one of the richest Noblemen in *Spain*, and might be about 49. years old. He had been Vice-Roy of *Catalonia*, Governour of *Milan*, President of the Orders, and was Master of the Horse to the young Queen.

The Count *de Chinchon* was formerly called Marquess *de Bayonna*: He had been General of the Spanish Gallies, was a brave man, he neither was rich, nor desired to be so. He was 60. years old.

Don Vincente Gonzagna, Prince *de Guastalla*, had never been married, he was a very polite witty

witty Person, and came very young to the Spanish Court, where he ran through most of the considerable Posts, and always acquitted himself well in them. He had been Vice-Roy of *Catalonia* and *Sicily*, and being a man of singular Integrity, *Don Juan* caused him to come to him to *Madrid*, in order to give him a place in the Council. He was 74. years old.

Don Louis Portocarero, Cardinal and Archbishop of *Toledo*, possessed the greatest Benefices in *Spain*. He was extremely rich, and his Archbishoprick was worth three hundred and sixty thousand Crowns *per annum* to him. He did abundance of good in his Station, was very obliging and courteous, of an easie Temper, and had the Repute of being an honest man. He might be about 52. years old.

The Marquess *de Liche*, who carried the name of *de Haro Gusman*, had two very opposite Qualities, he was liberal and yet covetous, he carried his magnificence even to an excess, considering his Rank in the World, but especially towards his Mistresses; nevertheless he sometimes shewed his Frugality in Things that did him no Credit. He had but an ordinary meen, and was ill favoured, but was Master of all the Wit, Penetration and Vivacity imaginable. He was a great Lord, full of Ambition, and so naturally forward and adventurous, that they feared him at Court, and kept him always at a great Distance. He was Ambassador at *Rome*, and was 42. years old.

The Count *de Monterey* was Brother to the Marquess *de Liche*; more meddling in all Affairs, and no less ambitious, but more discreet, and more moderate, gallant, liberal and witty. He had a great deal of Experience, and People were well contented with his Conduct in the Government

ment of *Flanders*. He was not above 40 years old. 'Twas observable, that he was well-shaped, and his Wife very deformed, whereas the Marquess *de Liche*, his Brother, was very deformed, and his Wife exceeding beautiful.

The Marquess *de los Balbarez*, a *Genoese*, of the House of *Spinola*, was very rich. He was not without justice reproached for falling into an excess in the management of his domestick concerns. He married the Sister of the Constable *Colonna*: The bigness and figure of that Lady were very remarkable. It must be owned that he had both zeal and capacity for the service of his Master. He had been Governour of *Milan*, and afterwards was Ambassador at *Vienna* and at *France*, and Plenipotentiary at *Nimeguen*. He was 50 years old.

Don *Diego Sarmiento* was originally of *Gallicia*, his birth was not illustrious. The Queen Mother protected him, and procured for him the place of Councillor of State, because he was altogether devoted to her service. He was a person of great abilities and prudence, and reckoned to be 58 years old.

The Duke *de Villa-Hermosa*, of the House of *Borgia*, mightily increased his fortunes during his stay in *Flanders*, where he was Governour. He passed for a person of great bravery, and had the Character of a sweet tempered affable man. He was not very rich, and might be about 50 years old.

Don *Melchior Navarra* owed his elevation to his good fortune, and to the Queen Mother. He was a man of great merit and knowledge, and was a member of the Council Royal. He left *Spain* in the year 1680 to be Vice-Roy of *Peru*, and was supposed to be 50 years old.

The Marquess *de Los-Velez*, was Son to the Marchioness *de Los-Velez*, who had been Governante to the King: He married the Sister of the Dutchesse *de Medina Celi*, he was Vice-Roy of *Naples*, and made himself to be beloved there for his good qualities. He was master of a great fortune, but of greater Vertues, and was but 30 years old.

The Count *d'Oropesa*, who carries the name of *Toledo* conjunctly with that of *Portugal*, was young and not above 30 years old. His stature was somewhat of the lowest, otherwise he was well enough made as to his person, of a smiling agreeable countenance, and a sweet and insinuating conversation, open in appearance, but in effect very reserved and close, not always speaking as he thought, and generally intent upon nothing but to deceive and amuse. He pretended to be devout, and under the exterior shew of unconcernedness for the world concealed his great ambition, to which he might be prompted perhaps by his illustrious birth: he was of the House of *Portugal*, and presumptive Heir of that Kingdom in case the King had no Children. The King at that time loved him exceedingly, and this love has been since wonderfully increased; he is become a favourite and chief Minister.

The Marquess *de Mansera* had been formerly sent Ambassador into *Germany*, and afterwards was made Vice-Roy of *New-Spain*, where he enriched himself, and came back to *Madrid*: He was of so unhealthful a constitution, that he could not fill the chief places of the Government, which otherwise he might have done, being a person of great capacity, in regard of his experience and judgment. He was 59 years old.

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The Duke *d'Albuquerque* was General at Sea; he was very brave, and was not destitute of wit. He married the Daughter of his Eldest Brother to keep up the name of his Family, which was that of *Cueva*, and was very antient. He might be about 48. years old.

Don *Juan Feronimo d'Eguya* was born at *Gesno*, but his family was of *Navarre*, and his Father had been Gentleman to the Duke *de Turcis*: he was well shaped and agreeable, had abundance of wit, and lived in the quality of a Page to Don *Pedro Fernandez del Campo*, Secretary of State: his Master loved him exceedingly, and made him his chief Commissary. He afterwards rose to be Secretary; for Don *Pedro del Campo* not being in the good graces of *Valenzuela*, *d'Eguya* was chosen to officiate in his place by a Commission, and after some time had the good fortune to get it for himself, for he, to whom it belonged, died of grief because he was not permitted to exercise it any longer. The King had a great kindness for him, and he behaved himself towards his Majesty with all the Address imaginable. His Office was under the King's apartment, he was called Secretary of State and *del Despacho Universal*. He was never of the Council: his employment directly fastned him to the Person of the King and chief Minister. He kept the *Bolsillo*, without being obliged to give up his accounts. Now these are the Fines that come to the King, as well from *Spain* as the *Indies*; they amount to a prodigious Sum, and are employed for secret services, either by way of Presents or Pensions.

All these Persons, whom I have mentioned, were very eminent and considerable, and possessed the Chief Offices and greatest employments.

There is another Class of Courtiers still behind, which is only composed of young Lords, who are there called *Guaps*, as we call them in *France les petits Maitres*. The most witty and well-shaped among these are reckoned to be the Duke *d' Uuxeda*, the Marquess *de Penaranda*, the Count *d' Altamire*, the Sons of the Duke *de Cessa*, the Prince *de Montoleon*; Don *Antonio* and Don *Francisco de Toledo*, Sons of the Duke *Dalbe*, and Don *Fernand de Toledo* his Nephew, the two *Silva* Brothers to the Duke *de Pastrane*, the Marquess *de Leyva*, the Duke *de Medina Sidonia*, the Marquess *de Quintana*, and the Son of the Duke *de Medina Celi*. Altho' the eldest of these Lords is not above 25. years old, yet they were most of them married; for they take care in *Spain* to make themselves acquainted with his Godship *Hymen*, as soon as is possible.

And now as for the Ladies, I shall only say in general, that there is no place in the world where they have a greater share of vivacity and wit, and a better talent to please, than they have in *Spain*; amongst these, without reckoning the Maids of Honour that belonged to the two Queens, the most remarkable for wit were the Dutcheesses *Dalbuquerque*, *de Terra Nova*, *d' Ossone*, *de Frias*, *de Medina Celi*, *d' Hjar*, *de Pastrane*, and the Countesses *de Monterey*, and *de Villambrosa*; for beauty the Marchioness *de Liche*, the Princess *de Montelion*, the Marchioness *de la Roche*, the Countess *de Penaranda*, the Princess *Stillano*, the Dutches *d' Osseda*, the Wife of Don *Pedro of Arragon*, that of Don *Henrique Henriques*, and the Marchioness *de la Puebla*. The constraint wherein they live, the Climate of the Country and their own natural temper carry them to Gallantry on course. They are for the most part

part little, lean and slender, their skin is swarthy, soft, and painted, their features regular, their eyes full of fire, their hair black and in great abundance, and their feet small to admiration. Their habit fits so ill upon them, that unless one has been long accustomed to it, she can scarce know how to endure it. The men are no less disadvantageously apparelled; they always come to Court in their *Golilia* and a black Cloak and hanging Sleeves, and altho' they be never so well shaped and handsom, with fine heads of hair and good features, yet their awkward way of dressing and parting their hair on one side of their face, and throwing it behind their ears, does abominably disfigure them.

This digression has caused me to interrupt the series of these Memoirs, but now to reassume my discourse, I must inform my Reader, that the good understanding which passed between the King and the Queen-Mother, occasioned abundance of people to make their Court to the latter. They looked upon her as a Princess, who had assumed all her former Authority, for the King was still young, and had need of good counsel, and his Mother being accustomed to Govern, was for all sorts of reasons more capable to direct him than any one besides. Nay it was commonly believed, that she would not be displeased to take the Government again into her hands, and so some by inclination, and others out of policy endeavoured to get into her favour, in order to obtain some place or other under the new Ministry, that was going to be formed, as well upon the score of her return, as the arrival of the young Queen.

The world had reason to believe, that the face of affairs would be absolutely changed,

and therefore every one thought of himself in the present conjuncture. 'Tis true abundance of persons that were very well read in Politicks, judged that the Queen-Mother would not perhaps manage the Reins of the Government, they pretended " that this would be always a " weighty and troublesome Charge, that she had " been of late years accustomed to ease and " quietness, and having undergone all the varieties of an uncertain fortune, she was afraid of " seeing her self exposed to them the second " time ; that there was hopes she would dissuade the King from taking a chief Minister, " and that she would be forward enough to " make him conceive an aversion for one ; that " to effect this she only needed to put him in " mind of the sorry figure he made, when Don " Juan had such an authority over him, and " that in fine she would endeavour to form a " Junta, which should be composed of her own " Creatures ; that this would be the true way " to Reign, without making her self responsible " for any events ; that all her Orders would be " punctually executed, and yet she not appear " to have any hand in them. I ought to acquaint my Reader, that a *Junta* is an extraordinary Council of State, which the Kings of *Spain* erect to remedy the pressing necessities of the State : For example, *Philip IV.* by his last Will created a *Junta* to serve and assist the Queens Council during the minority of the King his Son.

Thus people searched after, and as easily found out the Lords who were to compose this *Junta*; the hatred or the friendship of those persons that made reflections upon the present affairs enriched or impoverished those they had a mind

mind to; they bestowed Offices and took them away, they made vows to no purpose, and had effectual fears and apprehensions upon them: In a word, all these busie Spirits were divided upon the point, and the most quiet among them found themselves somewhat concerned for what was to come. But the Queen-Mother made no stir, she seemed in appearance to have no other thoughts than how to establish her self in the favour of the King her Son, and serve her self in the same condition.

This young Prince was passionately in love, and was sensible of all the pleasure that accompanies those agreeable Ideas, that love uses to inspire, and flattered himself to see all his expectations suddenly crowned; the possessing a Princess, who was already become so dear to him; employed his heart to such a degree, that he could think of nothing else. He pressed the time of his departure that he might be the sooner with her.

The arrival of the Courier, who brought the news, that the Queen was advanced towards the frontiers was expected with extremum impatience. The Marquess *de los Balbarez* sent them word exactly on what day she was to arrive at *Irun*: while she was in the territories of *France* the King's Household waited upon her. The Prince *d' Harcourt* accompanied her in quality of Ambassador Extraordinary, and the Princess his Wife likewise made the Journey. The Marshal *de Clerambaut's* Lady who was Governness to her, waited upon her as Lady of Honour, *Mademoiselle de Grance* as Lady of the Wardrobe, and this place has left her the name of Madam instead of that of *Mademoiselle*. Nothing was omitted in any of the Cities

through which her Majesty passed, to receive her with a respect suitable to her high rank, and we may say she so much set off the Grandeur of her Birth by her natural beauty, and by her engaging and courteous deportment ; that all France was sensibly grieved to lose her.

One of the first persons that took the freedom to speak to the Queen and give her advice was a Religious *Theatin*, called Father *Vintimiglia*. He was born in *Sicily* of an Illustrious Family, and was Brother to the Count *de Prade* who happened to be Governour of *Palermo* at the time when that City revolted in the late troubles. He had been seized, and people thought it would have cost him his head, but he got the favour to be sent to *Madrid* to justify himself ; his Brother the *Theatin* went along with him to assist him with his credit. He was a bold hardy adventurous man, and devoted himself entirely to Don *Juan*, and his zeal for that Prince carried him so far, that in some of his Sermons he spoke of the Queen-Mother with very little respect. This Father departed from *Madrid*, in company with the Duke *d' Ossone*, and tho' he had not now any hopes of being made the Queen's Confessor, as he had before the death of Don *Juan*, yet he could not forbear to go as far as *Bayonne* to salute her ; his deportment, his birth, and his knowledge of the *French* tongue, which he spoke perfectly well, because he had resided a long time at *Paris*, procured him access enough to the young Queen to take his opportunity of prepossessing her with some suspicions and jealousies against the Queen her Mother-in-Law, and the *French* Ambassador. By this piece of conduct he did not only design to injure those persons who had formerly
• been

been enemies to Don *Juan*, but he had a particular aim, that Personally respected himself, and wherein his ambition had by much the upper hand of his discretion: and that was to perswade the Queen to endeavour the erecting of a *Junta*, that was to depend solely upon her. He told her, that in order to bring this design about, she was to chuse the Duke *d' Ossone* to be a member of it, because he was a person of consummate abilities, and besides had a great zeal for her Majesty, he took care to reckon himself in the number of the Ministers, and could not forbear to write a Scheme of the Government; the Memoirs of which he gave to the Duke *d' Harcourt*, to the end that he might present them to the Queen, but 'tis very probable, he never showed them to her Majesty.

The Queen was now advanced as far as St. *John-de-Luz*, and she departed from thence about One a Clock in the Afternoon on the third of *November*, followed by the *Guards du Corps* of the King. She came to a Wooden house that was purposely prepared for her, it was Gilded and Painted within and without, there was a great Hall in it, a Chamber, and a moveable Closet of Crimson-Damask with Galloon and a rich Lace of Gold and Silver. This House was scituate upon the brink of the River *de Bidassoa* which parts *France* from *Spain*. As soon as the Queen arrived there, she put on a most sumptuous Habit, then coming into the Hall, she took part of a noble Collation: There she staid a little, and afterwards retired into her Chamber, after this she ascended a Scaffold, and placed her self in a Chair of State under a noble Canopy; at this very moment she was seized with an air of melancholy which shewed what a regret she

she had to be so near leaving *France*. The Prince *d' Harcourt* placed himself at her right hand, the Princess *d' Harcourt* at her left, the Marechal *de Clerambaut's* Lady and Madam *de Grance* behind her Chair. Monsieur *de Saintot* went to inform the Marquess *d' Astorgas* of it, who was Major Domo to the Queen. He was in a Boat upon the River, near a little Island, which the Treaty of the *Pyranees* has rendred since so famous, and which was joyned to the Queen's House by a Bridge of Communication. The Guards *de Corps* formed themselves into several Squadrons in this place. The Marquess was waiting for his Orders in this Boat, which was very magnificent, and was prepared on purpose to carry her Majesty over to the other side.

As soon as he was informed that the Queen expected him, he set foot upon the ground, and fourscore Persons, Gentlemen, Pages, or Valets marched on foot before him, he threw himself immediately at the feet of the Queen, kissed her hand, made her a Complement, got up again, and covered himself, without staying for the Queen to say any thing to him. The Prince *d' Harcourt* covered himself likewise at the same time. The Marquess spoke to her all the while in *Spanish*, and presented her Majesty with two Letters from the King and Queen-Mother; but before he gave them, he touched them upon his Forehead, his Eyes, his Mouth, and his Heart, as the fashion is. The Queen told him she was extreamly glad that the King her Husband had given him the charge of conducting her. After this the old Marquess turned himself towards the Prince *d' Harcourt*, and made him a Complement, who answered that he had Orders from the King his Master to deliver the Queen of
Spain

Spain into his hands. Monsieur *de Chateauneuf* Counsellor of the Parliament of *Paris*, read the Act of Deliverance in *French*; and Don *Alanson, Carnero*, Secretary of State, read the Act of Reception in *Spanish*. The Marquess presented several Persons of Quality to her Majesty, who kissed her hand kneeling down upon one Knee. The Bishop of *Pampelune* kissed her hand, but did not kneel. The Queen did not press to depart, but the Marquess informed her that it was high time to march; she immediately arose, placing him on her right hand, and a *Menin* of Honour on her left, upon whose shoulder she leaned, for he was a young Boy, and thus she advanced towards the Bridge. The Dutcheß *de Terra Nova* met her just about the middle, and kissed her hand with the Ladies of the Palace that followed her, who threw themselves all at her Feet. After the Dutcheß had made her Complement, she presented several *Spanish* Ladies to the Queen. Monsieur *de Repaire*, Lieutenant of the Kings Guards *du Corps*, who carried the Queens Train, gave it to the Dutcheß. The Queen entred into the Boat along with her, her Chamber was glazed all over; and thus being all alone with this old Dame, she cast her eyes frequently towards that side of the Kingdom which she had quitted, and her languishing air sufficiently testified by what commotions she was agitated within. Twenty four Seamen placed in two Barks drew the Boat along, and the *Spanish* Horse discharged their Musquetoons and Pistols as soon as it began to move, the Artillery of *Fontarabia* answered them with a great firing. The Prince and Princess *d' Harcourt*, the other Ladies and all the Queens Attendants passed over in Boats that were prepared on purpose.

purpose. The Queen setting foot upon the Ground towards the evening, found her own Coach, her Litter, and a Chair with abundance of Men in Liveries ; she placed her self in her Chair, and twenty Valets on foot lighted the way with long Flambeaux of White Wax : when they came to *Irun*, *Te Deum* was sung, and this was the first time her Supper was served after the *Spanish* fashion ; the repast was so little and so ill drest, that she was extremely surprized at it, and could scarce eat at all.

Alas ! that a young Princess bred up in the most magnificent and refined Court in the World should be forced to pass so many sorrowful melancholy moments. She had always had the liberty hitherto to eat in publick, and it had not been denied to her upon the way ; she danced, she rode on Horseback, she knew and esteemed those that were her Companions, and they (if I may use the expression) adored her. And now she found her self all on a sudden amongst persons whom she knew not, and consequently could not appear amiable enough to divert her grief, she understood so very little of their Language, that she could not tell what they meant, or return them any answer without trouble ; then besides all this, the manner wherein they served her appeared so strange, and carried so small a resemblance to that of *France*, that she was not a little discomposed at it. All was Ceremony, all was Restraint and Affectation ; from the very first day she appeared amongst them, the *Spaniards* expected she should know and do every thing as readily as themselves, who had been learning them the better part of their lives. They never considered the difference between the two Nations, that
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are opposite to one another in every punctilio, but believing that her Majesty ought immediately to be made acquainted with their way of living, which she was religiously to observe for the rest of her life, they dispensed with her in nothing, so that from that time she suffered a kind of slavery, to which the rigid humour of her *Camarera Major* contributed very much; but the natural sweetness of the Queen's temper, and her prudence made her receive all these things, that naturally fatigued and displeased her, with a world of patience.

Nevertheless one would have been apt to conclude, that out of meer policy the Dutchess *de Terra Nova* ought to have managed the good disposition of the Queen after another manner, especially since having no interest in her at present, she ought by a courteous deportment to have gained her favour, because she had so great a number of considerable enemies; and the greatest part of the Court Ladies were desirous of her place. The Prince who advanced her to this Post, was already dead, all appearances seemed to predict her fall, and she herself was very apprehensive of it. However she took different measures from what any body would have thought she ought to observe, for instead of shewing any complaisance to her young Mistress, she became a spy upon her actions, so that by this means she might merit the King's favour. She studied all her inclinations, and her humour, she frequently caused some *French Women*, that follow'd her to *Madrid* to be entertained, she drew strange consequences from the slightest occasions, and every thing became poyson in her hands. She likewise drew for her self a Plan of the conduct she was to follow,
and

and this effectually hindred her from being turned out of her Post.

She was not only content with taking these remote measures to ingratiate her self with the King, but likewise was of opinion, that to secure her own interests, she was to hinder the young Queen from ever having any friendly correspondence with the Queen-mother, or reposing any confidence in her: because her party being absolutely opposite to that of Don Juan, it was natural to believe that the first sacrifice she would demand of her Daughter-in-Law, would be the removal of the *Camarera*, who was the Creature of her Enemy. Besides she could not flatter her self, that the young Queen would refuse to give the Queen-Mother this proof of her complaisance, at a conjuncture that would deliver her from a sort of a Governess, whom she had no great reason to love; thus she could not think of a better expedient to support her self, than by possessing the Queen, ' That the Queen-Mother was her secret enemy; ' that she would oppose her in every thing; that ' she could never forget that she was in part the ' cause that the marriage of the Arch-Duchess ' her Grand-Daughter was not consummated ' with the King her Son; that she was always ' uneasy because she had not that ascendant, as ' she desired over the King's affections; that she ' was resolved to keep her under a subjection ' that was more befitting a Daughter-in-Law, ' than the Spouse of so great a Monarch.

To effect this more easily, she had instructed some persons that stood very near the Queen, who acted their parts well enough. When they first took the Liberty to discourse her about this affair, she thought them to be altogether devo-

devoted to her service, and their pretended tears seem'd to engage for the sincerity of their apparent zeal, 'What have you lost Madam, would they say to her sometimes with a mournful air, What have you lost by the Death of Don Juan? What would not he have done to please you? If it had not been for him the King had married the Arch Dutches, and his breaking off that Match drew abundance of mortal enemies upon him. Now if you could promise your self, that the Ambassador of France would prove faithful to you, you might find some consolation in him, you might follow his advice, and profit your self by his directions; but considering his present dispositions, Heaven preserve you, Madam, from taking his Counsel: Alas, he quarrell'd with Don Juan only upon the Queen Mothers account, he clearly declared himself for her in his first Embassie, and she reposes an intire confidence in him. Thus your Majesty cannot show your self too great a stranger to such a Minister, that will never go cordially along with you, and who will penetrate into your private sentiments for no other reason, than only to make an ill use of them. The Queen was extreamly alarm'd at the things they told her, and knew not which way to determine her self, being so young, and having no experience in this new world, where she was acquainted with no body.

She departed from *Irun*, and lay that night at *Hernani*. The next day she mounted on Horseback, followed by the Dutches *de Terra Nova*, who made but a sorry figure upon her Mule; Madam *de Grance* accompanied her. The Marquess *d' Astorgas*, and the Duke *d' Os-*

some

sone, with each a pair of Spectacles upon their Nose, as is the fashion of the Grandees, bore their shares in the Cavalcade. The Marquess placed himself next her Majesty, because she was to be his charge till she saw the King; but the Duke pretended a Right to the same place, as being Master of the Horse, and so took it by force, menacing the Marquess very haughtily. This dispute obliged the Queen to take Coach again. She lay that night at *Tolositte*, where as soon as she was arrived, the Duke *d' Offone* arrested the Guard, who had abused his Coachman, because he would not suffer the Coach of the Marquess *d' Astorgas* to go before his. This quarrel was renewed upon the discharging of their Offices; the Marquess pretended, that all the honour of the Queens Reception belonged to him; the Duke maintained that he being Master of the Horse, ought therefore to have all the pre-eminences in her House. To decide the matter, they were forced to write to the King about it, who decided it in favour of the Marquess. The Duke not thinking himself justly dealt with, continued his pretensions still, but this obstinacy drew an Order upon him to return to *Madrid*, with a prohibition to pass through *Burgos*, where the King was at that time.

In effect, the King left *Madrid* on the twenty second of *October*, being but slenderly accompanied. The Duke *de Medina Celi*, Lord Chamberlain, the Constable, and Don *Joseph de Silva* were all three in his Coach; as for the Admiral of *Castile* he did not go along with them, for he pretended that for want of money he was not in a capacity to fit out any answerable equipage; there might indeed be something of truth in this pretence,

pretence, but it is certain, that his natural laziness was the real occasion, he loved his pleasure, he shunned all trouble, and carefully avoided whatever might make him uneasie, and this was the true reason why he did not meet the King and Queen till they were within a days journey of *Madrid*. The King continued fifteen days at *Burgos*, because he was extreemly troubled with a Cold, in the mean time the Queen advanced forwards by small journeys. She wrote to him several times, and he answered her again. Her Majesty was forced to send to him to demand leave to dine in publick, and sometime to ride on Horseback; for those two terrible Creatures the Marquis *d' Astorgas*, and the *Camerara Major* would not consent to it, till they had received positive Orders. He granted it very freely, and she sent to him in this place a Watch beset with Diamonds, and a Cravat with a Knot of a fire colour. He immediately put on the Cravat, and ordered five hundred Pistols to be given to the Gentleman who brought him the Present.

The Count *d' Altamire*, Grandee of Spain, came to *Ognate* to complement the Queen from the King, and presented her with a Bracelet of Diamonds and Rubies. She arrived on the eleventh to *Victoria*, where a lamentable Comedy was prepared to Regale her. There it was that she dressed her self first *à l' Espagnolle*, and she appeared no less beautiful and charming in that, than in her *French Habit*. She went likewise to the Great Church, where the Bishop of *Calaborra* received her at the Gate, and held the Canopy over her, she afterwards was pleased to go and see a Bull-feast in the Market-place, but there was little or no magnificence in the sight,

because it was only performed by Citizens. She received in this place a pair of Pendants for the Ears, with Pearls to them of a Pear fashion, this Present was sent to her from the Queen Mother, and was valued at four hundred thousand Livres.

Monsieur the Ambassador of *France* came to wait upon her at *Bribiesca*, and tho' he tarried but a little time with her, and their Conversation was but short, yet he could very easily observe that she exprest a great uneasiness, and a particular distrust of him; he could not penetrate into the reason of it, however he presently judged that these dispositions were not natural to her, he told her several things that might be serviceable to her, he advised her not to amuse her self with the different impressions that any persons might endeavour to make upon her, that she ought to consider that the greatest part of those that waited on her only minded their own proper interests, that her surest way would be to love the King cordially, and so by that means engage him to love her; to unite her self to the Queen Mother, and concert all Affairs with her; that she ought to rest satisfied, that that Princess had a great kindness for her, and that if she took care to make suitable returns, she would find the affections of a true Mother in her. The young Queen was already prepared for this discourse, and particularly for what concerned the Queen Mother. She had been tampered with upon that point before, but if she had seriously examined what he spoke to her, she had soon been made sensible, as she was a person of extraordinary wit, that the Ambassador dealt plainly with her, and that whoever perswaded her to the contrary, endea-

endeavoured to disunite her from her real interests. He took his leave of her and went back to the King at *Burgos*, and during this short time he had the honour to discourse with her, she still entertained him with great coldness and indifferency.

The Prince *d' Harcourt* was advanced as far as *Burgos* to salute the King ; and since the Queen was to come to *Quintanapallá*, which is within three leagues of it, it was generally supposed that she would come to lie there on the nineteenth of *November*, and that the Ceremony of the Marriage would be there solemnized: But the Marquess *de Villars*, having met, as he was coming back, the Patriarch of the *Indies* who was going to meet the Queen, it came immediately into his head, that the Marriage might perhaps be consummated, without his being informed of it; this thought made him inquire the news of Don *Geronimo d' Eguya*, Secretary of State, who only told him, that the Queen was expected the next day at *Burgos*. This doubtful answer, which had nothing positive in it, obliged our Ambassador to inform himself still more particularly, and he understood at last that the King was to go the next day to *Quintanapallá* to celebrate the Marriage. Being assured of this, he took care to send advice of it to the Prince *d' Harcourt*, and they departed together soon enough to be with the Queen before the King arrived thither.

When they came there, they found it no difficult matter to discover, that the *Spaniards* desired to have the Marriage solemnized without them. The *Camerara Major*, who was altogether of that opinion, and to whom they spoke with abundance of honest freedom, told them

coldly that they were not to assist at the Ceremony, and that the King would have no body be there, except only those whose presence was indispensably necessary, such as the chief Officers, and some Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber. The Prince *d' Harcourt*, and the Marquis *de Villars* answered, that the King their Master had given them Orders to be present at it. She fiercely replied, that the King their Master had nothing to do to command in *Spain*. Monsieur *de Villars* told her that the King his Master was used to command his Ambassadors, and that they would obey him in every thing, that if the King was not willing to have him assist at his Marriage, he ought to signify to them by an Order in writing that they were not to be there. The *Camerara* ravished with joy that she had an opportunity to show her zeal for the King of *Spain*, altho this was a very improper time for it, was so far transported with the matter, and spoke several things so incoherent and fierce, that the Ambassadors left her and addressed themselves to the Marquis *d' Astorgas*; he patiently listened to them, and told them ingenuously that he would immediately dispatch a Gentleman to the King to know his pleasure herein. This Gentleman found him on the way, and he consented that the Messieurs *d' Harcourt* and *Villars* should assist at the Ceremony. In short it was occasioned by the industrious diligence of some persons who had no inclination to the *French*, that this thought was insinuated into the King: They were of opinion, that so August a Marriage ought not to be Celebrated in a poor Village, where there were not above a dozen Houses, and their *Spanish* vanity was so extremely offended at it, as to desire that the Ambaf-

Ambassadors of so great a King might not be witnesses of so great a negligence, not to say misery. And now, to excuse the matter, they gave out that the King was young and amorous, that every thing that hastned the pleasure of seeing his Spouse touched him so sensibly, that he even forgot the magnificence and grandeur of his Rank; that love alone made up the Honours of his Feast, and that the King thought this alone sufficient. The Queen having passed the night at *Quintanapalla*, about ten a clock in the morning was told that the King was arrived; this news caused a small emotion in her, and spread a colour upon her Cheeks that made her still appear more beautiful and lovely. She went to receive him in her *Spanish* dress, and having met him as he was just going to enter her Anti-Chamber, she would have thrown her self several times at his feet, and kissed his hand, but he hindred her still, and saluted her after the *Spanish* fashion, that is, without kissing her, but pressing her arms close with his two hands, and calling her often *Mireina, Mireina*, my Queen, my Queen. They discoursed together a long time, without being able to understand one another, and this was certainly no little pain to them. Monsieur *Villars*, who perceived it, advanced forward to serve as an Interpreter; if he did not say every thing they said, it is at least very certain that he spoiled nothing of their conversation, and that he mingled a great deal of tenderness, and passion with it. The King was drest *à la Scombergue*, which is properly after the *French* mode, and all his attendants were clad after the same manner: For the campaign habits of the *Spaniards* somewhat resemble ours.

The Marquess *de Villars* having observed that the *Grandeess of Spain* took the right hand, spoke to the King about it, and represented to him, the rank the Marquess *de los Balbarez* had given to him at *Fountainbleau*, when the Queen was espoused there. This reason prevailed, so the King ordered the Ambassadors of *France* to be treated after the same manner. The Constable of *Castile* could not be brought to quit his place without some trouble; he had still a small dispute upon the point, which continued a little time between the Ambassador and him, however civility was still preserved on both sides, and the rest of the *Grandeess* placed themselves behind the King. Don Antonio *de Benavidez y Bazan*, Patriarch of the *Indies* and Grand Almoner gave them a second benediction; the Ceremony was performed *incognito* in the Queen's Anti-Chamber: If the Arch-Bishop of *Burgos* had not been indisposed, he had performed this Office. Whilst Mass was saying they put a Ribbond of black Taffaty about the King and Queen, tied up in a true Lovers knot, and a white Gauze with a Silver Fringe upon the King's Shoulders, and over the Queen's Head. The Dutcheß *de Terra Nova* held up her Train. When the Ceremony was over, the King and Queen withdrew into a Chamber by themselves, where they continued two hours alone: They dined afterwards in publick, and parted from thence to go and lie at *Burgos*. There was no body with them in the Coach, and since they did understand one another but very little, one can scarce imagine what they said, however the King appeared very amorous and affectionate; several *Grandeess of Spain* went before their Majesties with very stately Liveries, and accom-

accompanied them to the Palace, where a Comedy was acted, and artificial Fireworks were to be seen.

The next day the King came to a rich Abbey of Nuns, that are called *Las Huelgas*, which is not much beyond the Suburbs of *Burgos*: She dined there, and about three a Clock made her entry on Horseback, being drest after the *Spanish* mode, but appeared so beautiful and charming, that she ravished the hearts of all the Spectators. Three *Grandeess* marched before her, the *Marquess d' Astorgas* followed her; a Canopy was carried over her Head, the Old *Dutchess de Terra Nova* rode upon a Mule, and the Maids of Honour accompanied her on Horseback. On the twenty second of *November* Prince *d' Harcourt* made his entry, and had Audience of the King and Queen; after Dinner there was a Bull-feast, which pleased the Queen exceedingly, because the Cavaliers showed extraordinary dexterity and courage in the performance. The day following she saw the *Parejas*, that is to say, an Horse-Race, in which nothing is observable, but that two men who start together, ride even without going a step one before the other, altho they ride full speed: Sixty Gentlemen clad in Silver Brocard ran after this manner.

After they had thus spent three days in different pleasures and diversions; it was high time to think of going to *Madrid*; most of the *French* Gentlemen and Ladies that followed the Queen took leave of her in this place, so that the greatest part of the Household went back to *France*; but this was not done without shedding abundance of Tears. The Queen had the liberty still to keep with her her two Nurses, two

Women of the Chamber, some *Valets de Cham-bre*, a Gentleman to look after five or six *Eng-lish* Horses she had ordered to be brought with her, and some other Officers for her Table. She presented the Prince and Princess *d' Harcourt*, the Marshal *d' Clarendon's* Lady, and Madam *de Grance* with her Picture enriched with Dia-monds of different prices, according to the Qua-lity of the persons to whom she gave them: and the obliging manner wherewith she knew how to accompany her liberalities augmented the price of them exceedingly. They pretend that the Present the King made the Prince *d' Harcourt* was worth twenty hundred thousand Crowns, but it fell much short of it; the Queen got a Pension of two thousand Crowns for Madam *de Grance*, which was to be paid her where-ever she lived.

The Princess *d' Harcourt*, and the other La-dies that followed the Queen went back to *France*, while she and the King took the way to *Madrid*, being both by themselves, and sat in the back part of the Coach. Several Offi-cers of the Household went before, and marched by different Roads to avoid an embarras; the Counts *d' Arcos*, and *de Talara*, Don *Joseph de Silva*, and the Duke *d' Hija*, Gentlemen of the Chamber, were named by the King to ac-company him in his journey; he came back the very same way as he went to *Burgos*; he lay at *Lerma*, at *Aranda*, at *St. Stephen de Gormas*, and at *Guadalajara*; The Nuncio and the *Venetian* Ambassador came thither to make their Com-plements to the Queen: The next day their Majesties arrived at *Torrejon*, which is within three leagues of *Madrid*.

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All the while that the Court was on the way from *Burgos* to this place, the *Camerara Major* frequently discoursed the King in private: She found it no difficult matter to insinuate those sentiments into him, that are so natural to the *Spaniards*, and he had for his share been educated in a Country where they make no reckoning of a Ladies virtue, unless they take away from her all opportunities of transgressing: 'She represented to him the ill consequences of that liberty which the Women are allowed in *France*; that it was absolutely necessary for the Queen to live after the retired manner that those of her sex observe at *Madrid*; that she was young, lively, and of a brilliant spirit, accustomed to the *French* fashions; that what is innocent in one place may become criminal in another; but if he would be pleased to confide in her, she would by her great diligence prevent every thing. The King commended her zeal, and gave her sufficient assurances of his confidence.

The Queen Mother was arrived at *Torrejon* before the King; she quitted her Apartment to go and meet their Majesties; when the King saw her, he ran to her and embraced her very tenderly; the young Queen advanced forward at the same time to kiss her hand, but the Queen Mother would not suffer it: She took her between her Arms, and embraced her several times with great testimonies of friendship, treating her still by the Name of *her Majesty*; but the young Queen told her, that she requested her to call her Daughter, and love her as one, and to be perswaded that she had all those dutiful sentiments for her, that might make her worthy of this Honour. The King gave

gave her his hand on one side, and the Queen Mother on the other ; and thus going between them she entred the Palace, that had been prepared to receive them. The Queen Mother perceiving that the Queen had never a Muff, presented her with her own, about which was a great knot of Diamonds ; afterward she took from her a Ribbond that tied some of her Tresses, and in exchange put upon her Arm a Bracelet that was computed to be worth three thousand Pistols. In a word, she showed the Queen all marks of her good inclinations to her, from which she might promise her self all happy consequences. She staid with their Majesties as long as she could, but went home that evening, because this place had not conveniencies enough to receive her. The next day which was the second of *December*, the King and Queen arrived at *Madrid*, in a Coach with the Curtains open, that they might be seen by the people. They went down to our Ladies *Datcha*, where *Te Deum* was sung, and at night lay at *Buen-Retiro* ; the next day a Comedy was acted, and some *French* Musicians, that followed the Queen, prepared some *Opera's*.

The Dutchess *de Terra Nova* being resolved to take entirely from the Queen that little liberty that remained to her, and desiring to continue sole Mistress of her Majesty's Will, declared when she was arrived at *Buen-Retiro*, that nobody, of what quality or condition soever, should see the Queen till after she had made her publick Entry. This was a sorrowful state, and a heavy restraint to the young Queen to find her self thus all on a sudden shut up from those persons, that either might have afforded her some consolation, or diversion, or useful advice.

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She kept her in this solitary condition at *Retiro*, without permitting her so much as to go out of her Apartment. All the entertainment they regal'd her with, was to see long fulsom tedious Comedies, little of which they understood; and the terrible *Camerara* was incessantly before her eyes, with a severe affected air, and never laught, but was perpetually finding fault with something or other. She was a professed enemy to all manner of pleasure, and she treated her Mistress with as much Authority, as a Governess would use towards a little Girl.

The Marquess *de Villars* knew all that passed, and was mightily concerned at it, but it was not time as yet to speak of it. He sent to the Dutchess *de Terra Nova* to know whether he might have leave to salute the Queen, she answered him just as she did all the rest of the world, that she was not to be seen till after the Entry was over. This answer he looked upon to be so positive, that not desirous to run the risque of meeting a second refusal, he was forced to acquiesce: but the Queen being informed of what had happened by some of the French Women that still continued with her, could not forbear to acquaint the King with it, and obtained leave to see our Ambassador *de secreto*, that is to say, as a private person. She immediately took care to inform him of it; and the Marchioness *de Villars* imagining that she might likewise have the favour of the same privilege, sent to the *Camerara Major* to know whether she might be admitted to wait upon the Queen, but she received the same answer that Monsieur the Ambassador had received from her before, saying in a few words, she had no order to let her in. The Gentleman that discoursed the
matter

matter with her, still insisted that she had something of moment to say to her; 'tis all one, says the *Camerara*, I'll never suffer any new customs to be introduced within these Walls.

Her Majesty not knowing what had passed between the *Camerara* and the Ambassador's Lady, charged her Confessor to tell her, that she desired to see her, and that she would extreamly oblige her by making her a visit. But she was not in a capacity to obey the Orders she had received, and the Confessor being informed what obstacles stood in the way, very fairly gave the Queen an account of all. She was not a little troubled at the ill services the Dutchess had done her; and one may be able to judge by these few instances what an absolute power that old Lady assumed in the Queen's House, and over the Queen's person. The Queen Mother, who came every day to *Retiro*, observed an air of melancholy in the looks of the young Princess, which sufficiently testified her disquietude within: She easily apprehended, that a person of her age could not chuse but be disgusted at the severity of the *Camerara*; so she thought herself obliged to acquaint the King with it, and desired him that he would be pleased to treat her after a more gentle method: She succeeded in her Petition, and procured leave for the Marchioness *de Villars* to go and wait upon the Queen, who was introduced into her Apartment through that of the Dutchess *de Terra Nova*, who appeared less savage and somewhat more respectful to her than she used to be. The King according to the custom of *Spain*, sat in a Chair of State, the two Queens upon two low Stools, and presently another was brought for the Ambassador's Lady. Soon after the Queen

Queen Mother going out along with the King, she found her self alone with the Queen, who seeing she was now at liberty to talk, could not forbear to shed some Tears, as she acquainted her with the sorrowful life she led. After she somewhat eased her self by recounting to her the several ill usages that so much disturbed her, the Ambassador's Lady did not fail to apply those consolations she judged expedient for one in her condition. 'She made her sensible, that 'this life, so full of constraint as it was, and 'for which she expressed so great a reluctancy, 'was yet the very same that all the Queens and 'Infanta's of *Spain* had ever been accustomed 'to ; that there was nothing particular in what 'she suffered, and consequently was not designed to disoblige her ; that she ought to hope, 'that when the King was better acquainted 'with her, and saw he had an entire possession 'of her heart, he might out of complaisance allow her some relaxations which hitherto her 'Predecessors had never enjoyed ; That since 'the Queen Mother loved her, and cherished 'her interest as her own ; she could not do too much to cultivate that friendship, which 'would be so advantageous and necessary to her ; 'that in the distribution of humane things, the 'greatest happiness is always attended with some 'inconveniencies ; that she was now elevated 'to the supreamest Grandeur upon Earth, which 'Heaven would have her purchase at the expence of a few mortifications, but that her 'complaisance to the King and Queen Mother 'would soon deliver her out of them. She likewise told her several things, which in the conduct she was to observe towards the rest of the Court, might assist her to support the beginnings

ginnings, and render what followed more agreeable to her.

Madam de Villars spoke with a great deal of zeal of the Queen Mother; but the young Queen being not as yet disengaged from those sentiments with which she had been lately possessed, looked upon all this discourse as designed to mislead her, and tho she ought to have considered that the Ambassadors could have no other views in what she told her, than only to make her sensible of her own true interests, yet these advices did not at that time make those impressions upon her, as one could have wished they had for her good. Her prejudices to the Queen Mother, which were perpetually inspired into her, ballanced the confidence she had in Madam de Villars, and her mind, that was only accustom'd to be entertained with those agreeable things, that use to employ persons of her youth, her temper that was naturally free and lively, dissipated the application she ought to have made, in order to distinguish good counsels from bad. She knew just enough to embarrass her and give her occasions of being uneasy, but could not tell how to disentangle her self, and for want of a steady resolution to free her self from these melancholy Ideas, thought it too great a fatigue to solve these apparent contradictions. So she continued under this uncertainty without being able to rescue her self from it, and perhaps by this means lost a favourable juncture that then offer'd it self to deliver her from the Subjection, under which the Dutchess kept her afterwards. The Ambassador of France saw her sometimes whilst she continued at Retiro. but this was before Company, and besides the time they allotted him to be with her, was so short

short, that in those general visits they could discourse of no particular affairs.

The Queen Mother continued to visit the Queen often, she desired her to dress herself after the French fashion, because she never beheld her in that dress; she did so, and the Queen Mother liked it extremely well. When she was returned to her Palace, which is the House of the Duke d' *Uzeda*, and is one of the finest in *Madrid*, the Young Queen sent her two little Cabinets full of pretty curiosities; she on the other hand procured her by way of exchange the diversion of going a hunting at *Pardo*. She had not been on Horseback since she came to *Retiro*. The King killed a wild Boar before her, and after that day they went frequently to the Chase together.

The Councils of the Inquisition, of *Castile*, of *Italy*, of *Flanders*, of *Arragon*, of the *Indies*, of War, of the *Finances*, of the Crusade, and of the Orders, went on New years day to wish a happy year to their Majesties; for this is the Custom in *Spain*.

The Marquess *Sera* a *Genoese*, offer'd to make the *Naples* Squadron consist of fourteen Gallies, which was never more than seven, and not put the King to any expence, provided he would allow him the same conditions that the Duke de *Tursis* had at *Genoa*. He had made this proposal to Don *Juan*, some time before his death, who found it to be very advantageous. However their resolutions are so long a taking in *Spain*, and they have so small a consideration for Novelties, of whatsoever use they may prove, that it is almost impossible to introduce one; and this affair it seems met with the same fortune.

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The Marquess *de los Balbarez* took the Oath of fidelity for his place of Counsellor of State, and Don *Manuel de Lira* did the same, for that of Secretary of State in *Italy*. The Duke *d'Ossone* still expected that they would accommodate the dispute between him and the Marquess *d'Asorgas*, but seeing that they said nothing to him about it, he took up a resolution to go no more to Court, and appeared every day in the City with a great equipage. This is often enough practised in *Spain*.

There are some people in the world that are never to be discountenanc'd by a repulse, and Father *Vintimiglia* was of this number: Altho' he had received no manner of answer to the Memorial he gave the Prince *d' Harcourt* at *Bayonna* to present to the Queen, yet he could not forbear to draw up a second, wherein he regulated all the Monarchy ; he intrusted a French Gentleman with it, who promised to find out some means or other to give the Queen a sight of it : But whether he show'd it her, or not, 'tis certain that *Vintimiglia* by an express Order of the King was banished out of all his Dominions. He betook himself to the Ambassador of *France*, and nothing more became of the matter.

'Twas expected that immediately after the King's return some sort of Government would be established to settle affairs in their old course, which had been intirely suspended ever since the Death of Don *Juan*. Just as his Death happened, every thing was making ready for the Journey, which employ'd all the Court, and the King in particular ; his Marriage might well enough detain him some time from making those applications he ought to use in the choice of an able Minister : And the world was not at
all

all surprized, to find him forget the concerns of the kingdom in general, at a time when he was wholly possess'd with a Passion for his Queen; and had his head full of those agreeable Idea's, which all Lovers amuse themselves with. But now when that business was over, they impatiently expected to see him take up some fixed Resolutions. The Queen Mother who was newly returned from her Exile thought of nothing else than how to preserve her self in the favourable Situation she in was in at present, and no body in a manner was so interested with the King as to be able to pretend to the Ministry. Thus the whole government was lodged in the hands of a Monarch, who was but 17 years old, and who was never so well versed in things of lesser consequence as to have any just knowledge in greater Affairs.

The only man that shared the Monarchy with him, was Don *Feronimo d'Eguya*, who had been Secretary of State four years, to which post he arrived from that of a simple Commissary. His address together with his good fortune render'd him agreeable to the King, who had followed no other Counsel than his, unless *d'Eguya* who was fearful of giving it sometimes, had not advised him to consult the Constable of *Castile*, and the Duke *de Medina Celi* in certain affairs, because he had no mind to answer for every thing himself. It is indeed true, that during the Journey nothing of importance was debated upon, for they only busied themselves about that in particular, and the Orders that are necessary to be given upon such occasions.

The Court became now very full; the King's marriage and the return of the Q. Mother had brought together the most considerable persons

of the Kingdom. Every Family was consulting about the measures that were to advance some particular man amongst them to the Chief Ministry: Some wished their Relations had it, others desired it for their Friends, and abundance of people wished to enjoy it themselves: Among those that had the justest pretensions were reckoned the Constable of *Castile*, and the Duke *de Medina Celi*: They were both of them furnished with great personal qualities, were both of an illustrious birth, and considerable fortune; they possessed the chief Offices of the Crown, were Counsellors of State, and their merits equally distinguished them: But nothing was more opposite than these two Lords were to one another: An old Spirit of hatred, which they were not able to suppress, and which they had testified in a thousand Rencounters, increased their common emulation; their humors and inclinations were as contrary as night is to day. Several of their common Friends had endeavoured to reconcile them, but their pains were to no purpose: They were all sensible that if they concerted matters together, they would reciprocally render good Offices to one another, which might serve to advance their Fortune. This was one of the reasons they used to accomodate the matter between them; but sometimes we meet with aversions that are never to be surmounted, and this I have mentioned was of that number.

The Duke *de Medina Celi* was 45 years old, his Humour sweet and good natur'd, but too slow and careless in matters of moment, of an insinuating agreeable Spirit. He was descended of the illustrious Houses of *Castile* and *de Foix*: he is seven times a *Grandee* of *Spain*. His Wife was

was Heiress of the House of *Arragon de Cardonne*, she is very rich on her side, as well as he is on his. He was President of the Council of the *Indies, Sommellor du Corps*, that is to say, High Chamberlain, he made his Court regularly, and always testified a particular zeal for the person of the King; and his Majesty as he never fails upon that point, expressed a certain affection for him, which he never show'd to any one besides. This made the world believe, that he stood fairer for the Ministry than all his Competitors.

The Constable of *Castile*, descended of the House *de Valasco*, was 57 years old, and was Master of a considerable estate, nevertheless he did not live easy amidst all his wealth; he is the tenth Hereditary Constable of *Castile*, Dean of the Council of State, and Grand Master of the King's Household. His Genius is vast, his Abilities and Knowledge are surprising, and he was always concern'd in employments, where he acquired experience. The last of his Governments was that of *Flanders*, and altho these posts ought to have made him sociable and familiar, yet he always preserved so severe and rigid a character, that it rendred him terrible: access to him is very difficult, and his humour is naturally so imperious, that he can never submit. And this is the reason why he was embroiled so deeply with Don *Juan*, and hindring him from receiving several favours, which that Prince would otherwise have willingly bestowed upon him, to have brought him over to his own Party. 'Tis true he declared himself very violently for the Queen Mother, and this might be one of the principal causes, that kept him from being of Don *Juan's* Faction.

No body doubted but that the King respected him very much, for what the Queen Mother might say in favour of him, and the world was perswaded, that among those persons, whose merits she would recommend to the King, the Constable would be the first, who besides this would unquestionably find himself supported by all the party that had been ill treated by Don Juan, and by all those that continued still in the Interests of the Queen Mother: She was obliged for her own proper Interests to procure the King's favour, and the Favourite's place for the Constable. But amidst all these flattering appearances, he seemed to be very indifferent in the matter, whether it were because the ill posture of affairs, and the tender Age of the King, made him apprehend some danger to be in the chief post, or because he was sensible that he had not a prospect of obtaining it at one step, and so was willing to ascend it by degrees. He seem'd to desire that a Junto were established for the Government, wherein he wou'd bear his share with the Inquisitor General and the Marquess *de Mansera*. He sometimes told his Friends that the weight of great affairs astonished him, and that he found it a harder matter to adjust them, than those persons who behold them only at a distance, can well imagine; and that all his ambition was to contribute what in him lay to the erecting a Junto.

The Queen Mother was not unwilling to have this project take effect; because this was the way to keep the entire Authority in her own hands; for the Council being composed of her creatures, they would in all probability act according to her directions. The Constable for his part secretly promised, that by his conduct
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and management he would always keep the upper hand over the other two, and that thus his Companions would only enable him to bear the publick hatred, in case any thing should meet with ill success.

But this Junto, that would lodge all the authority in the hands of three persons only, destroyed at the same time the expectations of all those that would have it be divided amongst more, out of a consideration of their own interest: This party desired to have it full as numerous as it was during the Regency, and would have it composed of the Cardinal *Portocarero* Archbishop of *Toledo*, of Don *Melchior Navarra*, who had been formerly Vice-Chancellor of *Aragon*, of the Duke *de Medina Celi*, and the other three whom I have mentioned.

After so many different projects, people were so well satisfied, that the Council at last would be only composed of the Queen-Mother's Creatures, that the alarm became general to those persons who had been devoted to Don *Juan*, and were very apprehensive of the credit of the Queen-Mother, and the advancement of the Constable: Several of them assembled hereupon, they beheld their ruine in the elevation of the contrary party, and united themselves to the Duke *de Medina Celi* to find protection from him, out of hopes of beholding him made Chief Minister: They considered that it would be more advantageous to them to see one man made happy, who was sure to befriend them, than to see three happy persons depending upon one alone, who had just reasons to wish them ill.

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particular to himself, made him be looked upon by the greater part of the Courtiers as the only man that ought to pretend to this favour, in a Court where the greatness of rank and birth is one of the most essential qualities to recommend a Chief Minister. Those that penetrated into the true disposition of the King, saw very well that in the midst of these different parties, the Duke could not fail to get the better; but whether it was an effect of his Prudence and Moderation, or whether it was occasioned by the Intrigues of those persons that were on the contrary side, he advanced but slowly. It appears probable, that the greatest part of his ambition came from his Friends, and that he rather followed the advices they inspired into him, than his own proper inclinations. 'I desire the same thing that you do, 'would he say to them, but in truth the tranquillity a man abandons to expose himself to 'all the murmurs of the people, and to all public inquietudes, very much moderates the 'pleasure that is inseparable from so great a 'Post: and unless it were for the service we 'hereby render to our Master, I can't imagine 'how any man could find any satisfaction in a 'thing that draws so many hazards along with it.

Thus people busied themselves about the two different factions, that were formed by the Constable, supported by the Queen-Mother, and by the Duke *de Medina Celi*, who was seconded by all the Creatures of Don *Juan*: But while these Rivals were openly disputing the Prize, and all the Court seemed divided between them, every one embracing a Party according to his own inclinations, Don *Feronimo d' Eguia* formed a third almost alone. He saw himself all on the sudden made Secretary of State,

State, when the Marquis *de Valenzuela*, after the removal of *F. Nitard*, became the Queen-Mother's Favourite, and took away that Office from *Don Pedro Fernandez del Campo*, who did not behave himself supple and submissive enough to him; so that we may say his haughtiness was the occasion of his Fall, *Valenzuela* having no reason to be content with him, obliged him to quit his Office, and bestowed it upon *d' Eguya*.

He had too fresh an example before his eyes to fall into the same fault, and being very adroit, complaisant, and well enough versed in dissimulation, neglected nothing to please *Valenzuela* as long as he stood upon his feet: but when he saw his Fortune declining, and that the Court declared in favour of *Don Juan*, he presently copied after them, and presented himself, during that Ministry, by his exemplary Submission. He was one of the first that espoused his party, and was likewise one of the first that abandon'd the Prince, when he saw his credit began to sink in the world. Nay some time before the end of *Don Juan*, he managed himself as he had done before *Valenzuela's* fall, he entred into a correspondence with the Queen-Mother, assuring her that he would only depend upon her; so whether she was really perswaded of his sincerity, or had not as yet a fit occasion to remove him from his Post, she suffered him to continue in it without the least molestation.

In all these Changes he only held his place by a Commission; but as this furnished him with an occasion to see the King perpetually, and to discourse him in private about all affairs, so he made use of this opportunity to possess him with a distrust of all those that might with justice make pretensions to his favour, nay even of the

most considerable Persons: So that being only a simple Secretary of State by a Commission, and in all appearance of a narrow unexperienced Genius, he beheld himself in a capacity to balance at one time two powerful Parties, so that neither one nor the other could succeed in their affairs, so long as he opposed them.

Whatsoever Inclinations the King had for the Duke *de Medina Celi*, Don *Fernonimo* frustrated them, by awakening him with an Idea of Don *Juan's* Ministry: 'The Slavery he then
' suffered; the Persecution of the Queen-Mother,
' so many Persons of quality ill used without any
' occasion, the Misery of the People, and many
' other disorders that inevitably happen, when
' the Government is abandoned to the Caprice
' of one man: On the other hand he represented
' a Junto to him, as a Company of Ministers
' that would command every body, and everlast-
' ingly embarrass their own affairs by their Jealou-
' sies and mutual Discords; that it would be a
' burthen to himself, as well as unprofitable to
' the State; that Junto's might do some good
' under a Minority, but that his Majesty was too
' far advanced in Age, to want any Governors;
' that suppose he were pleased to compose one,
' yet the obligation he had to make the Consta-
' ble one of the number, would involve him in
' new difficulties; that his temper was haughty and
' imperious in Authority, and that he was wholly
' devoted to the Queen-Mother; that she had
' been accustomed to govern, and would easily
' come to be Mistress again, by the help of a
' Junto composed of her own Creatures; that
' since he was married, and had Prudence and
' Wit sufficient, he ought to manage himself,
' and that if ever he was prevailed upon to do
' other-

‘ otherwise, he would find himself by little and
‘ little reduc’d to those sufferings, from which
‘ he desir’d to free him.

It is natural for a Young King to desire to be at large, and independent; so whilst he continued thus in suspense, *Eguya* was Master of all affairs: The Confessor possessed the King with the same sentiments to chuse no Chief Minister, upon whom he must depend: And the Dutchess *de Terra Nova* found herself equally concerned to keep off the Queen Mother, a Junto, and a Favourite. During this Interregnum, she had opportunity enough to fix and settle herself in the King’s good opinion, she did not question but if the Q. Mother hapned to be once more Mistress, she would endeavour either by herself or by her Creatures to turn her out of the Court; this consideration obliged her to discourse frequently with the King, and her only care was to perswade him, that he ought to be apprehensive of the Queen Mothers designs. She likewise inspired him with the same distrust of the Queen, whose Youth and easiness of Temper made her incapable of taking strict measures: She constantly whispered some disagreeable things or other into his Ear, that only tended to disquiet him; but he preserved so great a Love for his Queen, that notwithstanding he believed all the Stories this old Beldam told him, he never had the less affection and tenderness for her.

The Court continued still at *Buen-Retiro*, that is to say without *Madrid*, expecting the Queen to make her Entry, after which they were to go and lodge in the Palace; the preparations for her Entry were very long, it was commonly believed for some time that the Queen was with Child, but all these hopes vanishing about the
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beginning of *January* 1680, She made her Entry on the 13th. of the same Month; The Queen Mother went in the morning to *Buen-Ritiro*, from whence she parted some time after along with the King, they went together to see all the streets through which the Queen was to pass, and stayed at the Countess *Dognates* in a Balcony made on purpose, and having a Lattice Window gilt all over, the Avenues that led to *Retiro* were all shut up, and a prohibition was issued out for any Coach to go that way. About eleven the Queen mounted on Horseback, those that were to go before began to march, and passed through a marble Gate, which was but lately built: The Kettle Drums and the Trumpets of the City, in their Habits used in these Ceremonies, marched at the head of all; after them the Alcaldes of the Court, the Nobility, the Knights of the three Military Orders, the Gentlemen of the King's house, the Mayor domo's to the Queen, and the Grandees of *Spain*, followed by great number of Lacquays, whose different Liveries of Brocard, and Galloon of Gold and Silver of a mixt colour, made an agreeable diversity; the Querries of the Queen marched on foot immediately before her: the Count *de Villa Mayana* was on her Right hand, who was her Chief Gentleman Usher: She was surrounded with her Menins and Pages of Honour (when she walks on foot she always leans upon one of them) the Dutchess *de Terra nova* followed her; and Donna *Laura de Alargon* Governante of the Maids of Honour, both of them mounted upon their Mules, and in their Widdows habit; which somewhat resembles that of Religious Women, except that when they are on Horseback, they wear great Hats on their Heads, which made

no less terrible a figure than the rest of their garb. But People saw after this with a great deal of pleasure Donna *Teresa de Toledo*, Donna *Francisca Henriquez*, Donna *Maria de Gusman*, *Josepha de Figueroa*, and Donna *Manuela de Velasco*, Maids of Honour to the Queen, all very beautiful and richly drest; they were on Horseback, each of them was accompanied by their Relations, in the midst of whom they marched: There were several led Horses admirably fine, led by Grooms clad in rich Liveries, and the passage was shut up by the *Guards de la Lancilla*. At the *Prado*, which is one of the most agreeable walks in *Madrid*, by reason of the several Fountains that water it continually, was to be seen a Gallery open on every side with one and twenty Arches, there were several jettings out in it, on which the Arms of the several Kingdoms under the Dominion of *Spain* were affixed to Pillars that supported some gilt Statues, which carried Devices in honour of the Queen, with Crowns and Inscriptions that had a relation to the several Kingdoms; The Queen found at the end of the Gallery a Triumphant Arch, very magnificent and well design'd, through which she entred into the City. The Corridor and the Rigidors apparelled in Brocade of Gold, of a red Crimson colour, with Bonnets and Breeches, such as the antient *Castilians* wore, presented her with the Keys of the City, and with a Canopy which they carried over her head, during the procession: The Streets were adorned with the richest Tapestries, and the precious Stones that were to be seen in the Goldsmiths Row were valued at Eleven Millions. It would take up too much time to describe all the magnificences of that day, I shall only content my self to say, that the Queen

was

was mounted upon a fine *Andaluzian* Horse, which in this noble march seemed proud to carry so beautiful and great a Princess. Her Habit was so covered with Embroidery that the Stuff was not to be seen; she wore on her Hat white Plumes mixt with red; and a Pearl called there the *Peregrina*, which is as big as a small Catherine Pear, and is of an inestimable value, hung below a Clasp of Diamonds with which her Hat was beset. She wore on her finger the great Diamond of the King, which, as they pretend, surpasses in beauty any thing, of that nature that was ever set in a Ring. But the graceful deportment of the Queen in all her actions, and particularly in the management of her Horse, and the charms of her person made a greater lustre than all the pretious Stones she wore, altho it is certain that people could scarce behold the glittering of them. She made an halt before the Balcony of the Countess *Dognate* to salute the King, and Queen Mother; they opened the Lattice about 4 broad fingers to see her, and the King taking his Handkerchief in his hand, carried it several times to his Mouth, his Eyes and his Heart, which is the greatest piece of Gallantry in *Spain*. She went on her Procession, and the King with the Queen Mother received her in the Court of the Pallace, he helped her to light off her Horse, and the other taking her by the hand conducted her to her Apartment, where she embraced her often, telling her that she was over happy to have so amiable a Daughter in Law. That Evening there were curious Fireworks, and Illuminations for three nights together; the King next day went to the Royal Chappel, where the Queen was likewise in her Chair of State, the Ambassadors

dors and Grandees were there according to the Custom, and *Te Deum* was sung. After dinner the King and Queen went out together, which was the first time of their appearing in publick: They were in a Chariot made like a Triumphal Coach without a Crown upon it, and open on all sides to shew themselves to the People, they traversed the great Square before the Palace, and passed through several Streets, where the Balconies were full of Ladies, who mingled their Acclamations with those of the people; the Grandees followed their Majesties in very rich Coaches, with a great number of Livery men. There were abundance of these Lords who for nine days together had nine different Liveries, and each finer than the other; after this manner they went to our Ladies *Datocha*, and it being already night before they returned to the Palace, white wax Tapers were lighted at all the Windows, and the Streets were so prettily illuminated, by them, that a man might almost see from one end of the City to the other. The finest show of these Lights was at the *Placa Mayor*, which is a very large noble Square, the Houses are built with five Rows of Balconies one over another; and could reckon above three Thousand Tapers in all. As soon as the King and Queen were arrived there, the Fireworks began. Many other diversions lasted for several days; sometimes their Majesties went a hunting, at other times to a Comedy, or took a Walk: Sometimes they went to Sup with the Queen Mother, or the Queen Mother came to eat with them at the Palace. All the Ladies had the Honour to kiss the Queen's Hand, the Councils and the Grandees complemented her also.

Some

Some days after her Entry a Bull-feast was kept at *Madrid*, which was the most magnificent of the kind that had been seen for a long time. The King and the Queen came to the Great Square about one a Clock in the Afternoon: afterwards entred the Duke *de Medina Sidonia*, the Marquess *Camaraza* Grandees of *Spain*, Don *Felix de Cordova*, Second Son of the Duke *de Sessa*, Don *Francisco Moscoso*, and Don *Fernando de Lea*, a Gentleman of *Cordova*, each of them followed by an hundred Lacqueys, some dressed after the *Turkish*, others after the *Grecian* fashion; and after this manner they represented several Nations. They combated the Bulls with extraordinary dexterity and courage; the Son of the Duke *de Sessa* had two Horses killed under him. This sport is an old remainder of the *Moors*, whose Genius and Customs are not intirely extinguished in *Spain*, altho they themselves have been long turned out of it. The *Spaniards* still seem to preserve something of the barbarity of those people, since they do so freely expose themselves to the rage of Mad Bulls to divert the Publick. But to say the truth, this representation is one of the finest things in the world, and nothing can afford so agreeable a prospect, as the place of the Combat, which is prodigiously spacious, encompassed with five ranks of Balconies all equal and regular, and curiously set out with rich hangings and Furniture, as well as filled with almost an infinite number of Spectators.

The King on the eighteenth of *January* named the Marquess *d'Offera* to go Vice-Roy *per interim* of *Sardinia*, because the Count *d'Egmon* was not as yet in a condition to go thither: He named the same day the Marquess *de Fuentes*,
Son

Son to him who had been Ambassador in *France*, to go thither in that quality in the room of the Duke *de Giovenazzo*, who from an Envoy to the Court of *Savoy*, was nominated to that of *France*, but it seems was at last destined to return to *Turin*.

In the mean time the Marquess *de Villa Mayna*, Chief Gentleman Usher to the Queen discharged the Office of Master of the Horse, in the place of the Duke *d' Ossone*, who for his ill conduct was prohibited to come to the Palace. The Marquess *d' Astorgas* took the advantage of his absence to make his own Court, and altho he had been indisposed, and continued to be so still, yet he went every day with five Coaches of extraordinary fineness, and a numerous retinue of Livery-men to wait upon the King. The Duke *d' Ossone* being informed of it resolved to meet him, and give him some affront, so he took abundance of people with him, and knowing which way the Marquess was to pass, he ordered his Coachman to drive thither full speed, and to overturn the Marquess's Coach, in case he was within: It happened he went that day in a Chair, and his Coaches followed him, but the Duke *d' Ossone's* Coachman for all that met with him so conveniently, that he threw him along in the River: This rencounter made a great noise, and did not at all accommodate the affairs of the Duke, which before this were in no good condition.

Madam, the Constable *Colonna's* Lady, who went out of the Convent, where she sojourned, to behold the Queens Entry, staid with the Marchioness *de los Balbarez* till the fifth of *February*, when she was carried away by the King's Order to a Convent some leagues off *Madrid*.

Tis

'Tis the Custom of *Spain*, that upon all solemn occasions, whether of Joy or Grief, all the Kingdoms and all the Principalities that depend upon the King, send their Deputies to complement him. Thus Don *Pedro de Salinas y Unda* came in the name of the Principality of *d'Avila*, accompanied with the Duke *de Pastrane*, and Don *Joseph de Silva* his Brother, to kiss the King's hand, and complement him upon the score of his marriage. The Kingdoms of *Naples*, *Navar*, *Arragon*, *Granada*, and divers other places sent likewise. After the King had given them Audience, he took the Queen along with him to a great hunting of the Wild Boar, where they killed abundance of them. The Duke *de Pastrane*, who exercised the Office of Chief Ranger in the absence of the Marquess *de Liche*, conducted the Queen to a place in the Forrest, that was extremely pleasant. Several streams of water ran by the place, and under some of the highest Trees a Pavilion of Gold Brocard adorned with a Fringe of the same, was set up. All the Trees were covered with little Apes, Squirrels and Parrots, and a thousand other Birds that were fastned to them; young Boys that were drest like Fauns and Silvanes, and Girls apparelled like Nymphs and Driades, and Sphepherdesses served up a noble Collation to her Majesty, who seemed to be at first extremely pleased with the entertainment. But altho no body knew what it was that disquieted her afterwards, she appear'd to be very sad all the remainder of the day.

On *Candlemas day* there was a procession in the Galleries of the Palace; the Religious of the *Mendicant Orders*, and all the Ecclesiasticks belonging to the Chappel walked before the Pages of the King, and those of the Queen followed

ed after. The Grandees of *Spain* marched before their Majesties, the Dutchess *de Terra Nova* held up the Queens Train, the Maids of Honour came next, and there did not seem to be above eighteen or twenty of them: 'Tis not here as in other Holidays where they all wait upon their Sovereign.

Tho the young Queen changed her place of abode, yet she did not change that solitary and disagreeable life she led at *Buen Retiro*, under the guard of the Dutchess *de Terra Nova*. She governed her like a Child, and continued still to treat her after a worse manner, unless it were that she was permitted to receive the visits of some Ladies, which oftentimes appeared more tedious to her than even solitude it self; not that they wanted wit, for no body can reproach them with want of that: But the Queen understood but a little of what they said, and besides could not repose that confidence in them, which gives liberty, and life, and spirit to Conversation; all was Grandeur, and Ceremony, and Reverence, and State. Much about this time I had the honour to kiss her hand, but she could not forbear smiling, to see me so much altered for the worse by my *Spanish* Garb, for unless her self alone, I never saw a Stranger look well in that Habit. After I had passed through her Apartments, which to say the truth, were exceeding pretty; I found her in her Closet, which was painted and gilded, and set out with great Looking Glasses fastned to the ceiling; she sat upon a little square Stool near the Window, making Gold Net Work, mingled with Blew Silk; her Hair was parted in the middle of her Head, which was bare, only one knot of her Hair was curled and plaited with great

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Pearls,

Pearls, and reached down to her Wast; she had a Velvet Robe on, of a Rose Colour, Embroidered with Silver, and had Pendants in her Ears that touched her very Breast, and so heavy that she gave her self the trouble to take out one of them that I might pass my judgment on it, and I was exceedingly surprized at it. She spoke very little *French* to me, affecting to talk *Spanish* before the *Camarera Major*. She ordered me to send her all the Letters I received from *France* which had any news in them, to which I replied, that the news which was sent to me did not deserve the consideration of so great a Queen. Ah good God, cryed she, lifting up her Eyes with a charming air, I shall never think meanly of any thing that comes out of a Country, which is so dear to me. This affection, said I to her, which your Majesty preserves for your own Native Country, makes me hope every thing, Madam, since as I have the happiness to be one, so I have all the inclinations of a good *French* Woman. She answered this with her usual goodness, and whispered me in *French*, that she would rather see me appalled after the *French* fashion than that of *Spain*. But, Madam, said I to her, 'tis a sacrifice which I have made to the respect I have for your Majesty. Say rather, continued she with a smiling air, that the rigid temper of the Dutchess has frightened you. She appeared to me so very charming that day, that I could not forbear to admire her, for in spite of her melancholy she was plump and in good liking, and that contributed to make her still more beautiful and agreeable.

When I came back to my lodgings, I found my Letters from *France* were arrived; there was one amongst the rest, which I supposed would please

please the Queen; so I made all the haste I could the next morning to carry it to her, but the *Camarera* would not suffer me to have the honour of seeing the Queen two days together, therefore I was contented to write to the Dutchess, desiring her to present that Letter to the Queen. Behold the Contents of it.

I Am of opinion, Madam, that I cannot send you better news to day, than that of the marriage of *Mademoiselle de Blois* with *Monsieur the Prince de Conty*. The Contract of the Marriage was signed on the fifteenth of this month in the King's Chamber, who went about seven a Clock at Night to the Queens Apartment, and afterwards returned to his own with all the Royal Family: The Prince de Conty led *Mademoiselle de Blois*; she was set out with the finest Jewels in the world, all which together did not glitter so brightly as her Eyes, and whose lustre was inferiour to the Lillies and Roses of her Complexion. All the Court was in a transport as soon as she appeared, and the majesty of her stature was not a little increased by a Train five Ells long, which *Mademoiselle de Nante* carried. The King drew near to a Table that stood against the Wall; the Queen was on his left hand, and next after *Monseigneur*, *Monsieur*, *Madam*, *Mademoiselle d'Orleans*, *Madam the Dutchess of Tuscany*, *Madam de Guise*, *Monsieur the Prince*, and *Monsieur the Duke*, and *Madam the Dutchess*, the Prince de la Roche Sur-Yon, *Mademoiselle de Bourbon*, the Princess de Carignan, the Count de Vermandois, the Count du Maine, *Mademoiselle de Nante*, and *Mademoiselle de Tours*, all placed in a Demicircle about the Table. The Prince de Conty, and *Mademoiselle de Blois* came one after the other within the Demicircle over against the Table. The Mar-

ques de Seignelay drew near to the King, and read the beginning of the Contract with a loud voice, but he had scarce read the qualifications, when the King told him 'twas enough, and so signed the Contract. After all the Royal Family had signed it the Cardinal de Bouillon entred, and advanced forward to the middle of the Chamber; then the Prince de Conty and Mademoiselle de Blois approatbed up to him, and performed the Ceremony of the Betrothing. The Princess's Name, as you know, is Anna Maria, and the Prince's Louis Armand: This Ceremony being over, the King and all the Court went to see an Opera. Next day the Cardinal de Bouillon married this young Prince and beautiful Princess in the Chappel of the Old Castle in the presence of the King, the Queen, and all the Court: the King dined with all the Royal Family: at night a Comedy was acted, and after that there was a great Supper, where, without reckoning the Princes and Princesses of the Blood, there were fifty Ladies that sate at one Table. which was served with three services of two hundred dishes each. The Cardinal Bouillon blessed the Bed, the King gave the Shift to the Prince of Conty, and the Queen to the Princess. Next morning their Majesties went to see her at her Apartment in the New Castle. The King has given her the Dutchy de Vaujour, a Million of mony in hand, a Pension of a hundred thousand Livres, and abundance of Jewels; to the Prince de Conty fifty thousand Crowns in hand, and a Pension of twenty thousand to the Prince de la Roche Sur-Yon.

From St. Germain's the 18th of Jan. 1680.

The Queen Mother had given all imaginable assistance to the Queen of Spain, to deliver her from part of her troubles, if she could have cured

red her self of those suspicions with which some people had possess'd her against her; but she unhappily imagining, that the other still regretted the Arch-Dutchess, and would have been glad to see her in her place, that opinion made her extremely distrustful: and the Queen Mother who found nothing of that openness of heart and freedom as she desired, was likewise troubled for her part: for in effect, she loved her tenderly, and was ready to give her all possible testimonies of her affection.

The Ambassador of *France*, his Lady, and the Confessor often reminded the Queen of that conduct she was to observe, if she intended to be happy. ' They told her, that she ought
' to give her self intirely up to the Queen her
' Mother in Law out of a principle of Duty, and
' Gratitude for the friendship she showed her,
' as out of a consideration of her own proper
' interests: they represented to her, that the
' Queen Mother ought not to be suspected by
' her, and that altho the Arch-Dutchess was her
' Grand Daughter, yet she had received such
' few tokens and assurances of friendship from
' the Emperour during her disgrace, that she was
' too sensible ever to forget it: that the Con-
' duct of *France* towards her was directly opposite
' to this, that there she had been pitied and obli-
' ged, that her Most Christian Majesty had ever
' preserved a strict correspondence and friend-
' ship with her, and that the Queen Mother
' knew well enough that she could not by any
' returns oblige the Queen of *France* more, than
' by showing back all that kindness to the young
' Queen of *Spain*; that she had all the agree-
' ments in her, which could engage her heart;
' that besides this she hoped to see her give an

‘ Heir to the Crown, that this was necessary
‘ for the good of *Spain*; that the melancholy
‘ humour, to which she abandoned her self,
‘ might hinder her from having one; that they
‘ ought to concert all their affairs together, in
‘ order to possess the good graces and inclinati-
‘ ons of the King; that it was natural to be-
‘ lieve, he would divide his power between his
‘ Mother and his Queen, rather than bestow it
‘ upon a Favourite, who would think of serving
‘ him no longer than his Family reaped advan-
‘ tage by it; whereas the Souls of Sovereigns,
‘ having something in them that was more noble
‘ and great, than those of private persons, the
‘ motives of Interest would never be suppo-
‘ sed to influence two Queens, so much as they
‘ would a Chief Minister; that in fine there
‘ ought to be no separation between them, but
‘ that they must begin with the union of their
‘ hearts.

The Queen relished these reasons, and found them plausible enough, but for all that she relapsed all on a sudden into her old distrust, into which the different things that had been said to her did cast her anew: Besides the extream trouble she suffered from the rigid conduct of the Dutchess *de Terra Nova*; she found her so absolute and inflexible that she began to fear her, to which the tenderness of her youth, her want of experience, and her natural sweetness contributed not a little, so that she could not open her self to the Queen-Mother, when she considered, that if she did not really love her, but would make invidious reflections upon what she said, this would be the way to throw her into new inconveniencies; so that notwithstanding the desire she had to speak to her, she was al-
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ways silent in her company. The Queen-Mother perceived it well enough, yet for all that she continued to visit her almost every day, and sent her presents from time to time.

At last the young Queen being entirely vanquished by all these demonstrations of amity, resolved to submit her self wholly to her directions. They had a long conference together, where they took those measures which they judged were necessary to promote their common satisfaction. After this the Queen Mother spoke to the King, but found him in a cold reserved humour, so she made him no discoveries of any thing, but took her opportunity to withdraw, imagining with her self that her Son would be obliged to come after her; and that the world might take less notice of this alteration, she gave out that she only desired to live easy, and that she preferred her own repose to all other considerations whatsoever: She talked after this rate before several persons, in whom she reposed no ordinary confidence, altho at the bottom she was clearly of a different opinion.

The Constable was the first man that was aware of this alteration, and was one of those who were mightily troubled at it. He easily saw that the Queen Mother was leaving all thoughts of advancing him, and as he had his own particular views, so he used all the means in the world to effect his designs. In fine, he joined interests with the *Camarera major*, Don *Jeronimo d' Eguya*, and the King's Confessor, who brought the Duke of *Alva* into the same confederacy: the design of these three last was to set up the Constable against the Duke *de Medina Celi*, whose favour with the King increased, as they thought, very fast, and this gave them vi-

olent jealousies of him. The Constable for his part endeavoured to gain by them what they designed to make the Duke *de Medina Celi* lose; his Emissaries began to promote the affair with very favourable appearances, but after they had seriously reflected upon the imperious humour of the Constable. 'He is so arrogant and haughty, said they, that he would rather ruin every man of us, than ever be brought to own that he was obliged to us for his elevation, and whatever Minister has his place, will certainly be less dangerous than he.

Don *Jeronimo d' Eguja*, who thought of nothing else but how to ballance the credit of these two Lords one with the other, did not neglect their reflections. He mentioned them almost every day, and endeavoured to make them more strong if it were possible, he found it would be a great deal more advantageous to him to continue in the same condition, than to see himself subjected to a new dependance, and this reason obliged him to inspire the King with an aversion and jealousy for the Constable; so that instead of doing him any service as he promised, he did him underhand all the ill offices imaginable.

When our own particular interest lies at stake, and we are pursuing the dictates of our ambition, we are so clear-sighted, that it is a difficult matter for any one to deceive us long. We penetrate even into the most secret thoughts of him that calls himself our friend, and easily find out whether he doth us good or ill. Pursuant to this maxim, the Constable soon perceived how well he was served by his friends, and what designs each of them drove in particular. It is no difficult matter to imagine how a person
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of his temper, as I have already described, represented this usage, and his uneasiness to be so was so much the more violent because he smother'd it for some time before he let it break out.

Don *Jeronimo de Eguya* was the first person whom he attacked. Having represented to them one day in a full Council, and that with the greatest fierceness in the world, how all affairs went from bad to worse, he added, that no body ought to be surprized to find it so, since *d' Eguya*, who pretended to manage every thing, had neither Judgment, nor Experience, nor Capacity, and that he ought to be confined to the Duties of his Post, without meddling with those things that had no relation at all to it. When he had ended his discourse, Don *Manuel de Lira*, Secretary of State of the Council of *Italy*, who was of the Constable's Faction, presented to them at the same time a large memorial, in which he laid open the vast prejudice which the State of Affairs received from the ill conduct of *de Eguya*, and most of them there had been well enough satisfied, if these complaints had obliged the King to remove him.

Don *Manuel de Lira* did not act only out of Complaisance to the Constable but had his own private ends. He imagined that if *d' Eguya* were once turned out of his Post, he might perhaps succeed him in it. Now nothing animates a man's zeal in any affair, more than the prospect of some advantage or other to be gained by it. However this same business did not meet with that success which he and the Constable proposed to themselves, so after long consideration the Constable was obliged to come back to the Queen Mother, and importune her to appear in
favour

favour of him. He represented to her, ' That
 ' if the chief Minister was not one of her party,
 ' her repose would not be of long continuance ;
 ' that the Duke *de Medina Celi* stood very fair
 ' for it, and altho he advanced insensibly, yet it
 ' was probable he would soon find himself pos-
 ' sessed of a place where he would make his Ene-
 ' mies severely feel the weight of his Indignation ;
 ' that in spight of Politicks, to which he pretend-
 ' ed, he would not fail to set up the President of
 ' *Castile* against her, who was a Creature of Don
 ' *Juan*, and always ready to execute those resent-
 ' ments that had lodged in his breast so long ;
 ' that this Duke was the very person who for-
 ' merly had the hardiness to carry her the Order
 ' for her Exile ; that he seem'd at that time to
 ' rejoyce at her misfortunes and perplexities : that
 ' if ever he came to be Favourite, she would
 ' find him to be a constant rub in her way, and
 ' that this conjecture perhaps was not ill ground-
 ' ed, since the Duke still possessed all the passi-
 ' ons of Don *Juan*.

The Queen Mother was alarmed at what the
 Constable represented to her, and gave him her
 word to act vigorously in his behalf ; but the
 Duke *de Medina Celi* being advertised of it, was
 resolved to prevent the blow, and judged it
 the best expedient to soften the Spirit of the
 Queen Mother, by making a profound Sub-
 mission to her. In fine he went to her, and
 told her, ' That he was resolved to be oblig'd
 ' to her for all the King's favours, and desired to
 ' depend upon her out of an obligation of Gra-
 ' titude, as he had done a long time ago out of
 ' Duty and Inclination ; that he humbly begged
 ' of her to do him the justice as to believe, that
 ' his Heatt, his Birth, and his Fortune, were too
 ' great

great ever to suffer him to be one of Don Juan's Creatures; that he would never receive that title but from his own Master, and that the Party must wear a Crown, who commanded the Duke *de Medina Celi*; that altho he had declared himself for the President of *Castile*, yet it was not out of a Consideration of Don Juan, but the King's Service, and he was ready to abandon his Interest at any time, having no particular engagements of Friendship to him; and that if he appeared in this affair, it was only done with a design to defend the Authority of the King, which the Nuncio had a mind to invade in the conduct which he used towards the President. The Queen Mother answered him, that she did not without a great satisfaction, believe what he said to be true, that she had a great esteem for him, and would not fail to give him convincing proofs of it in a short time.

The Constable being informed on his side, that Queen Mother had very favourably received the Submission of the Duke, whether out of a Spirit of kindness, or indifference to the choice the King might make of a Chief Minister, dispaired at last of seeing himself succeed in any of his projects, either of the Junto whereof he pretended to be a Member if one were erected, or in the place of Favourite which he could have desired rather to fill alone. He resolved to merit something at least of the Duke *de Medina Celi*, by yielding up that Post with a good grace, when he was in a capacity to dispute it with him still.

In short, he laid hold of the first opportunity he could find, to tell the King that no Person was fitter to serve his Majesty, and preserve the

the Government in good order, than the Duke *de Medina Celi*. He bestowed wonderful commendations upon him for the good conduct he had ever used; The free unconstrained manner wherein he spoke all this, was exceeding remarkable, especially in a man of the Constables haughty Temper, who, as the world imagined, would dye a thousand times, rather than offer this violence inwardly to himself: But people at last believed that he design'd to render himself agreeable to the King, by commending a man, for whom his Majesty testified so great an Inclination. After all, it must be confessed that he showed a generosity, which is not common, in treating his declared Enemy after this manner.

It cannot be easily imagin'd, what a great detriment the Republick received by these Factions of the Courtiers, and the King's Irresolution to take or not to take a Chief Minister. Nothing was concluded, nothing was done; a Spirit of Lethargy seemed to be predominant at Court, which helped to increase those perplexities, under which the Kingdom laboured before. Every body languished to see what would be the success of the smallest matters; and business that had been carried into the Council, tarried there whole years, nay things that went directly into the King's hands were dispatched never the sooner. Thus no one knew what Party to take, or where to address himself.

Our Ambassador who promised himself to find a better treatment than he had met with a long while, and which he dexterously dissembled in expectation of the Queen's arrival, perceived at last that they designed to satisfy him no better,

better, than the other Ministers, who made their Complaints. Above five Months were passed since he demanded Justice for some violations of the Peace that were lately committed as well by the Governors of the Provinces, as by the taking of several Vessels, and the burning of others. But at the time when he was urgent to have a positive answer, he received a new injury by the insolence of an (a) Alcade, and several (b) Alguazils who passed before his House, which was never done at *Madrid*, in the quarter belonging to an Ambassador. He was extremely surprized at it, but was so far from receiving the satisfaction that was due to him for this affront, that they told him his Majesty had given Order that his quarter should be no longer exempt. This Resolution so much the more disgusted him, because it affected only himself, and all the other Ambassadors enjoyed their Priviledges as formerly. Not but that they had several other complaints upon their Hands, as for example, the Envoy from the Elector of *Brandenburgh* made a great noise because they had amused him a long time with specious promises that had no effect at all; they shew'd his Master a great Sum of Money, he demanded the payment of it, but they shifted him off from time to time, so that at last he perceived that they neither had the power nor inclination to satisfy him. The Nuncio did not seem to be less disgusted for his part, because he saw the President of *Castile* keep his Place and continue still in Favour, altho

(a) Who is a kind of a Provost or Judge.

(b) These are Serjeants and Bayliffs.

the Pope had declared him suspended, and he himself omitted no application to have justice done upon him.

In the mean time they wanted mony to raise four *Spanish* Regiments that were designed to be sent to *Milain*, because they apprehended some motion from the Court of *France*, but it was almost impossible to find any funds, and besides this the Silver that came from the *Indies* in the *Flota* was so suddenly gone and with so little order, that no body knew what was become of it, so that it was a difficult matter to send any returns into *Flanders*, or other places, where there was occasion. Those that used to advance mony upon these sorts of occasions, would now do nothing at all, they were all of them drained, and the necessities were generally so great, that they knew not where to take up mony to defray the ordinary expences of the King and Queens House. This proceeded in part from the disorder of the mony; a Pistole which ought to go for no more than fourty eight *Reals de Vellon*, was raised up to a hundred and ten; and the *Paracoons* that are only worth twelve *Reals* went at the rate of thirty. The occasion of it was this, a great part of the *Reals de Vellon*, that are of Copper, were bad, and the common custom made them pass as well in commerce, as if they had been good. But at last they were called in all on the sudden, by reason of the excessive price a Pistole was raised to, and 'tis impossible to recount the disorders and inconveniences that attended this new Regulation. The Court was of opinion in the month of *Februrary* 1680. that there was a necessity to find out some remedy or other sudden-

suddenly for it; so a Pistole from a hundred and ten *Reals*, was levelled to forty eight, the Patacoons to twelve, and the other money was so confounded one with the other, that it was reduced to the eighth part of the ordinary value. There was no body almost but lost more or less upon the account of this new Regulation, and accordingly felt it; that which before the sinking the value of the money was worth forty *Reals*, which make four Livres of *French* money, since the reducing of it, was worth a hundred and ten *Reals*, which is ten Livres of our money; so that what Commodities a man could buy on *Munday* for fifty *Sous*, went on the *Tuesday* for above a third part more; and the Debtor, who, it may be, on *Saturday* owed twenty thousand *Reals de Vellon*, which made but two hundred Pistoles, found to his sorrow the next day after that he owed near five hundred Pistoles. This ruined a great number of Families, and caused a mighty dejection in the spirits of the people; for every thing a man has occasion to buy, is dearer by much in *Madrid* than any where else, because they are brought a great way off, and there are few or no Manufactures at all in that part of the Country. A kind of a mutiny happened at *Toledo*, because after this sinking the value of money, no care was taken to regulate the price of Provisions, for which they paid excessive rates. It is still to be noted, that the Civil Government in *Spain* is managed but after a very sorry manner, and that the slow lazy humour of those persons, who might, if they pleased, correct the ill conduct of others, contributes exceedingly to the publick loss.

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All these disorders and continual complaints, which made a noise from all quarters, began at last to shake and undermine Don *Jeronimo d' Eguja*. He knew very well, that the Post wherein he stood, was ticklish and dangerous, and that after all his endeavours to disgust the world, in case he remedied nothing, the oblige maledictions and hatred would fall upon the Favourite. The present ill state of affairs was attributed to his ill conduct, so he thought within himself, that he could not too soon deliver himself from the torrent of the popular fury, and therefore resolved to omit nothing, whereby he might incline the King to choose a Chief Minister. The consideration of his own interest soon determined him to act vigorously in favour of the Duke *de Medina Celi*, he knew the King had a particular affection for him, and besides he perswaded himself, that when the Duke was informed what good offices he had done him, he would maintain him still in his Post, as well out of a principle of acknowledgment, as for the great services he might do him in these affairs, since he had managed them for so long a time, and consequently was in a capacity to furnish him with some necessary lights, which all those persons that newly enter into the Government are altogether unacquainted with. And then he knew the natural sweetness of the Duke's temper would never permit him to turn him out of his place, and he was certain that as long as he continued in it, he could manage the King's favour, the functions of his place giving him opportunity to approach near the King's person very often.

The *Camarera Major*, and his Majesty's Confessor had each of them particular designs in their head,

head, however they were both agreed as to the Duke's advancement, so that all the world concurring with the favourable dispositions which the King had for him, he signed a Decree (that is the usual term with them in Spain) wherein he declared the Duke *de Medina Celi* to be Chief Minister. He immediately commanded Father *Relux* to carry it him, who came to his House about ten a Clock at night on the twenty first of February 1680, and acquainted him with the good news.

No body had any reason to be surprized at the Duke's elevation. It seems he had promised himself the Place some time before, whether it were because the King gave him his promise, or that some outward appearances assured him of it.

However it was, it was agreed upon by all hands at Court, that the King could not have made a better choice. He was a Person in whom all good qualities were to be found; his agreeable Conversation, his obliging Character, his noble and generous Deportment, his free easie Temper, made him beloved by all the world: People only wondred, that being so great a Lord as he was, he would sacrifice his repose to the Administration of Affairs, that were then in a miserable condition. They could scarce imagine (and perhaps he was of the same opinion himself) how he could ever be able to remedy evils of so inveterate a malignity. Before he could effect this, he must in all appearance make an intire Change in the ordering of the Monarchy; but this was an impracticable design, and impossible to be executed.

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As soon as the Choice his Majesty had made in favour of the Duke, came to be publickly known ; all Persons that were of any Quality went to complement him, as well the Ministers of foreign Princes, as the Grandees of *Spain*. The next day being accompanied by all his Friends and Relations, he repaired to Court to kiss his Majesty's hand, and thank him most humbly for all his great favours. On the following days he received visits in his Bed, pretending a slight indisposition to exempt himself from the fatigue of Ceremonies. His Apartment and Furniture were extremely magnificent, but it is an odd sight to see a *Spaniard* in his Bed of State, because they wear no Morning-Gowns here, but only their *Golilia* and black Cloaks, and have their Hats on, or else are bare-headed ; for the Men as well as the Women wear no Caps : He had enjoyed the place of *Sumiller de Corps*, i. e. Lord-Chamberlain for a long time, and in this Quality he was the only Person that commanded in the King's Chamber, and lay there.

He did not delay to give publick Audience in the Hall, which they call the *Rubis*, and is the place where the Council of State uses to assemble ; 'tis under the King's Apartment. Here it was that the Duke received the visit of the Nuncio and the *Venetian* Ambassador ; they did not seem to be pleased at the manner wherein the Chairs were disposed, because it could not absolutely be determined whether either of them or he had the Chief Place of Honour. Besides this, he only reconducted them to the middle of the Hall of Audience. They acquainted the Marquess *de Villars* with it, who told them that he had designed

to make that visit along with them, because the Ambassadors of the Chappel generally acquit themselves of these sorts of devoirs together, but that he was not displeased with himself for not being there, since he was resolved to take direction by the fault they had committed; and that he would not neglect, as they did, to use all necessary precautions about the Step, Place and Rank, and would be assured both of the one and the other before he performed that Ceremony. In short, he sent to the Duke to know whether he would not receive him, as Don *Louis de Haro* used to receive the Ambassadors of *France*; he immediately agreed to it, and that there might be no mistakes committed, the places were marked out, and every thing was adjusted before the day of Audience. The other Ambassadors were concerned at the oversight they had committed, and by this visit of our Ambassador, regulated those they continued to make to the Chief Minister.

The Count *de Monterey* kissed the King's hand and the Queen's, he complemented them from the part of the City of *St. Jago de Compostella*, the Marquess *d' Astorgas* did the same from the City of *Avila*.

About this time Don *Francisco d' Agourto* was nominated by the King to be Master of the Camp-General of the Cavalry. The Envoy extraordinary from *England* surprized all the Court by the strict Prohibition he gave his Domesticks not to suffer any Ecclesiasticks or Religious to come within his doors.

The young Queen was so taken up with the diversions of the Carnival, that she had scarce opportunity to perceive that this was a

set time of mirth and jollity : Her best days were spent in hunting with the King , and the three last days of the Carnaval there was a Comedy represented upon the Theatre at *Buen-Retiro* , which is a well-contrived Building. The King and the Queen saw it on the *Sunday* , the next day it was acted before the several Councils , and on *Tuesday* before the Officers of the City. The Queen being informed that the Dutchess *de Bejar* , and the Marchioness *de Castel Rodrigo* , who had never bore any Children before , were each of them delivered of a Son , begged leave of the King to send them word that she wished them joy :
 ' I agree to it , says the King smiling , on condition that within nine months they will
 ' come in their turn to perform the same complement to you.

All *Spain* impatiently expected to see what Remedies the new Ministers would apply to those disorders , that seemed for a long time to be radicated in the Monarchy ; but whatever good intentions he had to rectifie them , he found it a difficult matter to put them in execution. The King's Treasury was exhausted , several private Families ruined , the price of all Commodities excessive high ; and these Perplexities were heightned by the connivance of the Magistrates , and the length of time. During the Ministry of Don *Juan* nothing had been set in order , and since his death one would have thought they had affected to abandon all manner of business.

To this we may add , that the Duke *de Medina Celi* had never been in any employ , where he might learn that experience which is so necessary for Government. He was born
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and bred in the Genius of *Madrid*, which is so supine and careless, that nothing almost is determined there. Nay what is more, he suffered the Master of the Council to deliberate about the Publick Affairs, after the same manner, as he did, before his Ministry, and submitted to take his Counsel; he likewise erected *Junta's* to debate of those things, which he supposed to carry any great difficulty with them.

He erected one amongst the rest, to which he nominated the Constable, the Admiral, and the Marquiss *d' Astorga*, all which three were Councillors of State; he also admitted three Divines, whereof the King's Confessor was one, and three Councillors of the King's Council to examine along with him the Affair of the President of *Castile*, about which the Nuncio made so great a noise. The occasion of this Dispute was this, Monsieur *Mellini*, the Nuncio, had a mind to preside over a Chapter of Religious, whom they call *Clericos Menores*, who were going to choose a Provincial. The President desired that one of his Friends might be named; now he knew that the Nuncio had a kindness for another, so he went the shortest way to work, and obtained a Decree of the King, which forbade him to preside in that Assembly, and because he did not exactly obey it, he was fined a thousand Crowns.

The Nuncio suffered this strange treatment with indignation enough, and complained of it to the Pope. His Holiness writ to the King about it, and Don *Juan* promised him to get the Fine revoked; but the many disorders that happened after his death, hindered

the execution of it. The King thought the business was laid asleep, because he writ a very submissive Letter to the Pope about it; but for all that the Nuncio, who was not to be appeased by a Letter, renewed the Quarrel after the Prince's death. He saw that the King had not as yet pitched upon a Chief Minister, and judged that the President of *Castile* was not well supported; he knew he had abundance of Enemies, and that amongst the rest the Queen-Mother was the most inveterate against him. All these considerations served to perswade him, that he should obtain an intire satisfaction without any trouble.

He pretended therefore that he ought to lose his Place, and to go to *Rome* to have the Suspension taken off, which he had incurred in the year 1679. The Court absolutely refused to grant him what he demanded; upon this he complained very highly to the King, telling him that he ill performed what he had promised the Pope in his Letter.

The Duke *de Medina Celi* being advanced to the Ministry, was willing to examine the Reasons of the Nuncio, and those of the President by the *Junta*. 'Twas alledged in favour of the last, that being a native of *Spain*, the King could not abandon him to the Pope's resentments, if at the bottom he did not deserve it; that it was true indeed he had done irregular things upon several occasions, but then his Place was of that nature, that he could not forfeit it unless it were for Reasons of the greatest importance: The Chief Minister declared, that he should keep his Place of being President of the Council of the *Indies*, and that

that Don *Vincente Gonzaga* should perform all his Functions. He received with extraordinary satisfaction the offer which the Admiral of *Castile* made, to resign the Office of Master of the Horse to him, which is generally possess'd by the Favourite, but would not accept of it.

He gave order to Don *Gabriel Quinones*, Secretary of the Council of War, to bring in his Accounts, out of hopes of drawing some Money from thence; and indeed the State was never in such extremity of want as now; for since the publishing of the King's Declaration for sinking the value of Money, all Commerce was intirely stopt, the Shops continued shut up, and the People groaned under the greatest Necessities imaginable. The Duke used all his Power to remedy these pressing Grievances, he designed to coin new Money, and lessen the Price of all Commodities; but the effect of his good Intentions was long delayed, and the publick Misery increased more and more every day.

Hereupon a Man of great business, whose name was *Marcos Dias* presented a Memorial to the Duke, wherein he propos'd a Method to raise the King's Revenue, and yet ease the People; he offer'd to prove that the Magistrates of the City of *Madrid*, under pretence of reimbursing themselves of the Money they had lent the late King, had rais'd considerable Summs, and had never given any account of them. He propos'd a way to force them to refund the overplus, as well to supply the present want, as to prevent the like Exactions for the time to come. The Duke hearkned to him, and told him

his Advice was good. Immediately after this *Marcos Dias* presented another Memorial to him, wherein he shewed, that his Majesty's Dues were considerably diminished, that he offered to pay the full worth of them; and yet to make an Advance of two hundred thousand Crowns, a Present of a hundred thousand Crowns to the King, and lessen the Imposition of the Dues one half of what it amounted to the year 1664, when they were less by one third part, than they were this present Year. For this he demanded that the Rents of the Guild-Hall of the City of *Madrid*, the Payments whereof were assigned for these Funds, should be reduced to five in the hundred, whereas they were risen to eight; and what is more, he still offered to reimburse those Persons who were not willing to suffer this diminution.

It is natural to believe, that he knew his own Accounts well enough, not to lose any thing by his Project, and to say the truth, he had been no loser: For the Disorders and Rapines were at that time so great, that not a ninth part of the King's Rights came into his Coffers. The Duke foreseeing the Event of this Affair, advised *Marcos Dias* not to stir out of the Palace; but he had a mind to go to *Alcala*, and he returned with vomiting of Blood and Convulsions, which occasioned the belief that he was poisoned: For this Overture of accommodating the publick Affairs, disgusted some particular Persons of great Estates, who got prodigious Sums at the Expence of the King and People. These Persons, to avert this Blow, had written to *Dias*, and threatened to have him infallibly

fallibly stabbed if he continued his proposals. He was very apprehensive of the danger he incurred, and besides this, these very Magistrates offered the same terms to his Majesty: But the Duke saw there was all the reason in the world to prefer *Dias*, and so he refused the others. Upon a consideration of what these differences might produce, the Duke advised him to have a care of himself, till the Treaty was concluded. The advice was good, if he had had the good fortune to have followed it, but as he came back from *Alcala* to *Madrid*, he met some men in *Masques*, who gave him several blows with little bags full of Sand, so that he spit abundance of blood at his mouth, and being seized with a violent Feavor died on the first day of *April*. The Corrigidor, and some other Officers of the City were the men that were principally exasperated against him, because he had discovered their Villanies a little before: nevertheless they were willing to submit to some beneficial alterations in matters, and so they reduced the Rents of the Guild-Hall of the City, from eight to five in the hundred. There was also some small regulation made in the Civil Government, but the Duke could not forbear to be sensibly touched for losing, by the death of *Dias*, an opportunity to serve the King and ease the People.

In the mean time the people who had fully flattered themselves that if the Proposals made by *Dias* had taken effect, they should have met with plenty instead of want; being informed of his indisposition, flocked about his House, and cried out aloud, that he was poisoned, and that this business ought to be examined

amined to the bottom, because he suffered for the good will he had expressed towards them. They added menaces against those persons who had opposed such profitable advice, and as the King accidentally passed by them in his Coach, a great body of them got about the Coach, and followed it crying,

Vive el Roi y muera el mal Gobierno, that is to say, *Let the King live, and the ill Government dye.*

There were great endeavours used to moderate the first motions of the popular fury, which exceedingly increased on the day that *Dias* died. Above six thousand were got together, who ran up and down the Streets complaining and weeping bitterly, every one of them said, that they had murdered the only man that wished them well. They accompanied his body to the place of burial, and the Streets were so full of people, that the King durst not stir out of his Palace, altho he was to go to a great Festival that was celebrated by the Jesuits, and he had a great desire to be there. There was little probability that they would ever be appeased, but as good fortune would have it, the multitude was only made up of poor irresolute people, whose spirits were broken by the miseries of which they complained. All this Tempest past over in vain menaces, and some injuries against some considerable persons, but however it did not alter the State of Affairs.

At this same time word was sent to the Nuncio, by an express Order from Court, that he should enjoy no other priviledges than what the Ambassador of Spain did at

Rome.

Rome. This was a new occasion of discontent to him; but the Action was general and they took care to inform the other Foreign Ministers, that for the future they would allow them only the same privileges as their Princes allowed to the Ambassadors of his Catholick Majesty; so that he had no reason to complain since he was treated but like the rest. This resolution was taken upon this account. Six *Alguazils de Corte* passing before the House of the *Venetian* Ambassador, it seems three of his Footmen knew them, and demanded of them how they durst have the impudence to go through their Quarter. The *Alguazils*, returned them a sawcy answer, whereupon the servants drew their Swords, but the *Alguazils* fired immediately upon them, and killed them upon the place. The Ambassador made great complaints about it, they promised to give him full satisfaction, but to avoid the doing of it, they thought it more expedient to revoke all the Franchises.

The King received a Letter from the Vice-Roy of *Naples*, and was extremely glad to hear that he had found out a way to borrow three hundred thousand Crowns of the Merchants of *Genoa* for the raising four thousand men that were to be sent into the *Milanes*: But they were perswaded at Court that it would be a long time before they could be in a condition to get there, because they demanded a further supply of money from *Madrid*, and here they wanted it, without exception, for every thing. However this did not hinder them from using all imaginable efforts to contribute towards the raising of these

these four thousand men, because they were exceedingly alarmed at the Treaty of *Casal*, which they pretended our King had bought of the Duke of *Mantua*. They apprehended, this was an open pass to render himself Master of *Italy* when he pleased, and they were fully perswaded that he had sent an Army thither upon this score.

The *Genoese* first whispered and spread about these jealousies, which at last reached the *Venetians*, so that they drew their Soldiers out of their Garrisons in *Dalmatia*, and bestowed them in their own Towns in *Lumbardy*, where they made some new Fortifications. The Emperor for his part was as much alarmed as the rest of his Neighbours, for he sent his Troops to the *Milanese* to guard them, and several Princes of *Italy* put themselves to a great deal of trouble, out of an apprehension of a rupture. But if there was any reason to fear one, it was from the side of *Bisca*, where the people of that Province, who are under the dominion of *Spain*, have almost every day some disputes with those that live under the dominion of *France*, sometimes about the fishing, at other times about other differences, each of them appropriating the River *de Bidassoa* to themselves, so that they seldom live in peace. Matters came to that upshot at last, that they burnt several Barques, and took several of the *French* prisoners. Our Ambassador was ordered to demand justice for these injuries, and frequently spoke to the Ministers about it, who continued deaf in these cases because they had no mind to redress them. They persisted to be so stiff and obstinate upon this occasion, that

that the Ambaffador declared at laſt to Don *Vincente Gonzaga*, that his Maſter would order his Troops to march towards the Frontiers, by which means it would be more eaſie to get ſatisfaction for the inſolence of the Biſcayneers, than by ſending to the Council at *Madrid*, that His Maſteſty was concerned for the tranquillity of his Subjects, and that he would take a due courſe to procure it. *Gonzaga* heard *Monſieur de Villars* very patiently, and told him at laſt that he was ſurprized to find him addreſs himſelf to him becauſe he was no longer Commiſſary, and that the Marqueſs *de los Balbarez* had been nominated to his Place above a month before. The Ambaffador acquainted him, that generally theſe ſorts of Changes are not made without informing thoſe perſons who are intereſted in them, and that as for himſelf he had never heard the leaſt mention of it. Don *Vincente* replied, that Don *Pedro Colonna* had been ordered to inform him of it, but that in truth he was a negligent perſon, and had ſhewed himſelf ſo not only on this occaſion. Upon this he made ſome particular reflections that were not very obliging to the new Secretary of State.

Don *Pedro Fernandez del Campo*, Marqueſs *de Majorada*, who had been formerly Secretary of State, and to whom the Marqueſs *de Valenzuela*, when he became ſole Favourite had an averſion, becauſe he would not blindly obey him, died of grief for the loſs of his Place, and to ſee it ſtill poſſeſſed by Don *Jeronimo d'Eguia*.

The number of the Maids of Honour belonging to the Queen, was about this time augmented.

augmented. The King added to them the Daughter of the Princess *Pio*, those of the Countess *de Villambrosa*, the Marquess *de Pouar*; the Duke *d' Hizar*, Donna *Eleonora* of the House *de Zapara*, the Niece of the Dutchess *de Terra Nova*, and Mademoiselle *de Lalain*, who was a *Flemish* Woman. But altho' this was a Testimony of the particular Consideration which the King had for his young Queen, because ordinarily the Queens of *Spain* have not so many, yet he could not forbear to be sensibly tormented at the Stories which the *Camerara* continually buzzed into his Ear. Don *Melchior Navarra*, who had formerly been Vice-Chancellor of *Aragon*, and whom Don *Juan* banished to *Cienpuzuelos*, was called home at the intreaties of the Queen Mother. Nay it was even believed that the King would give him the Place of President of *Castile*, in case the President, who was then embroyled with the Nuncio, were turned of his Place.

The King and Queen had the pleasure of hearing Mass celebrated at the Jesuits College in the *Chaldean* Language, by a Priest of the City of *Muzal*, which was heretofore called *Ninive*. After it was over, the Queen, who was always desirous of informing her self in matters of Curiosity, sent for him to come to her, and by the means of an Interpreter, she asked him several questions, and amongst the rest, whether the Women were as severely lock'd up at *Muzal*, as they were at *Madrid*. This Question, altho' there was nothing criminal in it, was so maliciously explained by the Dutchess *de Terra Nova*, that the King was observed to look upon her with a great

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deal of Coldness for some days after. This did not hinder the Queen-Mother from going to visit her, who assured her with all the Tenderness imaginable how sensibly she was concerned at these ill Offices that were done her. They went together to *St. Marie la Royale*, where was celebrated the Beatification of *Torribio Alphonso Mogrobejo*, Second Archbishop of *Lima*: The Musick of the Chappel was there; their Majesties were informed at their return, that the Great Arch-Deacon of *Madrid* was dead. The Queen-Mother seemed to be desirous of seeing this Dignity filled by one of her own Creatures, and the Young Queen proposed to send to Cardinal *Portocarero* to demand it of him: But now it was too late, for the Cardinal to prevent all Sollicitations upon this Point, made haste to gratify his Nephew *Don Pedro Portocarero* with it.

In the mean time, whilst these small things happened, News was brought that a Squadron of *French Men of War*, commanded by the *Marquess de Valbelle*, was arrived before the *Isle of Majorca*, to demand of the Viceroy some Merchant-men that had been taken by the Corsairs, since the Peace, and *Monsieur Valbelle* had in his hands an Order of the King of *Spain* for their Restitution. The Viceroy would not restore their Prizes, alledging, 'That the Persons who had taken them had already shared and divided them, and that they were not all of them *Majorcans*; that the Effects were all consumed and gone, and for his part he demanded Damages for certain Hostilities which these Corsairs had suffered. *Valbelle* continued his Instances; but seeing they had no Effect, he declared that he

he would not forget, to make use of the Right of Reprisals; 'That the Subjects of the King of *Spain*, when-ever he met them on the Sea, should find it to their cost; that the King his Master had reason to complain of the usage he found at their hands; That several Governors and Viceroy's dependant upon the King of *Spain* had taken liberty to commit all Injustices against the *French*; that it was almost to no purpose to demand satisfaction from those at *Madrid*, where the Councils were filled with Persons who had played the same Tricks, when they were in the like Posts, and consequently durst not condemn and punish others for the very same crimes they had committed themselves; that he was assured this was the reason that occasioned this impunity and all their frivolous Pretences: 'In a word, that he was going to take another course with them, and do himself Justice.

These Menaces, one would have thought, were sufficient to alarm those Persons that were concerned in them; but they have this Maxim in *Spain*, That provided the danger is a little remote, they never fear it; whether this happens through insolence or temerity, and they rather chuse to suffer the disorders, that always fall out in Military Executions, than give themselves the trouble to do Justice upon the Complaints that are made.

But before I finish the First Part of my Memoirs I think it will not be altogether amiss to say something of the Councils of *Spain*, according to the best information I have received concerning them.

The Council of State.

The number of these Councillors is not fixed, they don't observe the right of Seniority amongst themselves, but take their Places as they happen to come into the Chamber. The King administers the Oath to them, and they sit, as the Secretaries of State do upon benches, with backs to them, every man hath his Cushion, the Councillors are in the middle near the Table, the Secretaries of State at both ends.

When the King affixes there, he has a Table above that of the Councillors, who for that time have only places, and the Secretaries of State stand.

This Council is held twice every *Saturday*, and but once on *Mondays* and *Tuesdays*, all of them are called his Counsellors, and they deliberate here upon affairs of the greatest importance, such as Peace and War, Leagues and Truces. Here they likewise treat of the Marriage of the Kings and Princes of the Royal Family, and distribute the Viceroyships, and all the Governments of the Provinces that are under the Obedience of the King of *Spain*, and altho other affairs are examined in other Councils, yet the Councillors of State don't for all that omit to give the King their advice about them.

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Behold a List of those that compose this Council at present.

The Constable of Castile, who is the Dean of it.

The Duke of *Alva*.

Don *Pedro d' Arragon*.

The Admiral of Castile.

The Marquess *d' Astorgas*.

The Duke *D' Ossone*.

The Prince *de Stillano*.

Don *Vincente Gonzaga*, Prince *de Guastallo*.

Don *Louis Portocarero* Cardinal and Archbishop of *Toledo*.

The Marquess *de Liche*.

The Marquess *de Los Balbarez*.

Don *Diego Sarmiento*.

The Prince *de Ligne*.

The Duke *de Villa Hermosa*.

Don *Melchior Navarra*.

The Marquess *de los Velez*.

The Count *d' Oropesa*.

The Marquess *de Mansera*.

And the Duke *d' Albuquerque*.

The Council Royal of Castile.

This Council is the chief of all, and to distinguish it from the rest by a Title of Honour, the King calls it *Our Council*. It was established by *St. Ferdinand* the third of that name, in the year 1246. There are in this Council a President, Sixteen Councillors, a Fiscal, Six Reporters, six Secretaries, a Register, and a Keeper of the Registers, a Receiver of the Fines

Fines due to the Council, another of the Fines adjudged to particular persons, a Treasurer, a Deputy, and a dozen Porters. The Council assembles every *Friday* in the Palace, towards Evening the King comes there. The Kings, Don *Ferdinand* the Fourth, and Don *Alonso* the last of that name, established this Custom. This Council is divided into four Chambers, where they distribute those Affairs that are under their Jurisdiction in *Castile*.

One of them goes by the name of the Chamber of the fifteen hundred Pistoles, because such a Sum is to be consigned before any man can get a review of a process which is pretended to be unjustly judged by the Parliaments of *Vailladolid* and *Granada*, which are the two Parliaments of *Castile*.

When the President of *Castile*, goes out of the Council, the Counsellors follow him to his Chair; he never makes any Visits, never gives the Right hand to any at his House; he is to give the King an account of the most important affairs, that pass in Council, where they name a Council every Week to report them.

When the King comes there, they all uncover themselves and kneel down. Afterwards they cover themselves and sit.

When Audience is over, the King retires into his Cabinet with the President, who discourses him about business of the greatest moment for which the King gives his Orders, and this does not return any more to the Chamber for the Counsellors to deliberate upon it.

In the Year 1609. all *Castile* was divided into five Districts, and every District is under a Counsellor of the Council Royal, who takes cognizance of the conduct of the Judges, the Lords, Ecclesiasticks, and other secular persons. Besides this, there is a particular Council that is called the Council of the Chamber of *Castile*; the President is the Chief, and the King names a certain number of Counsellors of the Council Royal whether they be three, or four that compose it. Here it is that they dispatch all Benefices in the King's Nomination, Titles, and Patents for the most considerable Places, Letters of Naturalization, and the Ratification of Orders to arrest the Grandees of *Spain*, and the Graces and Favours, to which his Majesty is pleased to give his Consent.

The King receives prodigious Sums of Money for the Places that are sold by the means of these Counsellors. He gives likewise the Patents and Commissions of several places of Justice, and 'tis commonly pretended that in the two *Castiles*, the Kingdom of *Leon*, *Guypuscoa*, *Biscay*, the Province *de Hana*, and in *Navarr* there are above 72 thousand places of Judicature.

Secretary of State, and of the Universal Dispatch.

This Secretary is in a condition to serve or injure people, according as he stands affected to them, for all the Requests and Petitions, which they call Memorials here,
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and are presented to the King or Chief Minister, pass through his hands. 'Tis he who sends them to his Counsellors, who are to give their advice concerning them: After the consult is made (for this is their Phrase in *Spain*) these Petitions are sent back again to the Secretary of State, and when he reports them to the King, his Majesty orders what pleases him, and this is called a Decree.

This Decree is expedited by persons proposed for that Office; so that when these Requests are carried to the King they say the Memorial is mounted; and when they are answered, they say the Memorial falls down; or else the Consult ascended and the Decree descended.

Without counting the Secretary of State, whom I have been speaking of, there are two more that enter the Council, one of them dispatches the Affairs of *Arragon*, of *Italy* and *Sicily*, the other those of *Castile* and the *North*.

One of these is named Don *Manuel de Li-ra*, who was formerly Master of the Ceremonies, and Envoy Extraordinary in *Holland*; he was made at his return Secretary of State. The other is called Don *Pedro Colonna*, he is descended of a good Family, and those of his House have always possessed great places. They may give their advice in writing in matters of consequence.

The King sends the Decrees to them, and through their hands Affairs go to the Council of State: They make a Report of them there, and gather the voices; and give an account of all to his Majesty, who at last orders it

as he thinks fit. They have power to assemble the Council out of the appointed days, when they judge it convenient, and when the King has a mind that they should have any extraordinary Meeting, they send the Order immediately to all the Counsellors.

Every Secretary of State has a chief Commissary, who is called the Official Mayor, and exercises his Master's Office, when he happens to be absent. The Secretary of State for *Italy* has eight Commissioners, reckoning him that is the principal, the King pays them: And the Secretary of State for the *North* has seven under him: They chuse them themselves, and the King gives his consent: These dispatch all Patents, and generally those Persons that get into these Employments, advance their Fortunes in the World.

The Council of War.

This began as soon as the Kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon* were erected, under King *Pelagius*, in the year 720.

It assembles on *Mondays*, *Wednesdays*, and *Fridays*: As for what concerns the Government of it, the King is always President of it, and the Counsellors are Men of the Sword. They must be Men of Experience and Service, the number of them is not fixed, and it depends upon the King's pleasure to augment, or to diminish them. Their Places are not regulated in the Council, but they sit as they come. It
is

is indeed true, that when the Counsellors of State are called thither, they have the upper end, but then they never come but at a time when a full Council of War is held. They have two Secretaries, who have each of them two Commissaries under them, one of these is for the Sea-affairs, and the others, for those at Land.

When they debate about matters of justice an Assessor of the Council Royal, makes a report of them, who has likewise the privilege to give his opinion before the Dean of the Council: The King comes there almost every day. There are besides some other Chambers that depend upon this Council, such as those of the Flota's, the Gallies, and the Garrisons. The King nominates the Officers for these Chambers. The Councils are the same with those of the Council of War, and 'tis the Chief Minister or the President of *Castile* that presides there.

Alcaldes of the Court.

The word *Alcalde* signifies a Judge of any place. This Tribunal is full as ancient as the Council Royal, whoever is judged to be a criminal by it can make no appeals but is executed immediately. For this reason it is named the *Quinta Sala*, that is to say, the fifth Hall. Here they determine both Civil and Criminal Affairs, but when these Councils were established in *Castile*, the Judges thereof were reduced to four *Alcaldes*. They have been augmented since, and are nine at present, two Reporters and

four Registers: Their Jurisdiction is divided into two parts, one, as I said before, relates only to Criminal Matters, the other is like that of ordinary Judges, and is to direct the management of Civil Affairs.

*The Supream Council of the
Inquisition.*

This Council was erected in the year 1483. by Don *Ferdinand*, and Donna *Isabella*, King and Queen of *Castile*, to defend and preserve the Catholick Religion, altho it is certain that this Tribunal of the Inquisition was established ever since the year 1478. The President of this Council is called the Inquisitor General, and the Counsellors, the Apostolick Inquisitors. They are named by the Pope, and there are in *Spain* above twenty thousand Officers belonging to the Holy Inquisition, whose business it is to seize the persons of Criminals. Every Council consists of six Inquisitors (the word signifies Enquirers,) the Fiscal who is the Accuser, two Secretaries, and Alguazil Principal, two Reporters, a Receiver of the Fines, four Porters, and a Solicitor. The Inquisition keeps its Tribunals at *Madrid*, at *Toledo*, at *Granada*, at *Sevil*, at *Cordova*, at *Murcia*, at *Guenza*, at *Logrono*, at *Lierena*, in *Gallicia*, and at *Vailladolid*.

The Council of Orders.

This was erected in the year 1489. The Duke de *Sessa* of the House de *Cordonne* is
now

now the President of it, he has two Counsellors of the Order of St. *Jago*, two of *Calatrava*, two of *Alcantara*, a Fiscal and a Secretary, who are all Knights.

The King is Grand Master of these three Orders, and is called the Perpetual Administrator of it.

This Council takes Cognizance of the Temporal and Spiritual Government and of the Civil and Criminal Justice of these Orders.

There are also Religious Men and Religious Women of it, who bring their proofs and carry the mark of the Order. 'Tis in concert with this Council that the King examines those of his Subjects, who are capable of filling the places and vacant governments that depend upon the Order.

The Sacred Royal and Supreme Council of Arragon.

The King Don *Ferdinand* established this Council at *Madrid* in the year 1590. *Charles* the Fifth confirmed it in the year 1522. and appointed new Regulations of it in 1543. when he passed through *Catalonia* to go into *Italy*.

The Chief of this Council is called the Vice-Chancellor, who at present is Don *Pedro d' Arragon*, and the Prince *de Stillano* is Treasurer General. This place is hereditary to the Family of the Duke *de Medina de las Torres*, and this Duke is the Head of it. Three of the Councillers are to be Natives of *Valencia*, three of *Arragon*, three of *Catalonia*,
a Proto-

a Protonotary, a Fiscal, four Secretaries, four Scriveners, a Procurator General, nine Commissaries for the great Registers, five for the little, one for Letters, four Porters, and an *Alguazil*: The Isles of *Majorca*, *Minorca*, *Sardinia*, and *Imica* are under the Jurisdiction of this Council; they take cognizance of every thing that happens within the extent of their Authority; and deliberate with the King about Ecclesiastick and Military Affairs, Viceroyships, Bishopricks, the Finances; and in short about whatsoever relates to the Civil Government.

The Council-Royal of the Indies.

The *Spaniards* having had the good fortune to find out this part of the World which was unknown before, and to reduce it under the Dominion of *Spain*. His Catholick Majesty in the year 1511 established a Council of the *Indies* at *Madrid*; *Charles* the Fifth in 1524 added a Clause to it about the preserving of Religion, and ordained that it should be composed of a Lord Chancellor, a President, eight Counsellors of the Long Robe, and four of the Sword, with a Deputy to the Chancellor, a Fiscal, a Treasurer, four *Contadores*, an *Alguazil* Mayor, two Secretaries who have each a dozen Commissaries under them, two Agents to the Fiscal, five Reporters, one Historiographer, one Geographer, one Chaplain, one Sacristan, one Advocate, and one Proctor for the Poor, ten Porters, one Scrivener, and a Counsellor of the Contratation at *Sevil*; this last is

com-

commanded to preserve and keep together all the Ordinances and Laws for the *Indies*. There is a Chief, and an Under Commissary; and four more under him. This Council together with the King takes cognizance of every thing that has relation to the several Kingdoms and Provinces in the *Indies*, of Navigation, of War, of Peace, and of Civil and Criminal Affairs. Philip the Fourth created a Chamber for the *Indies* in the year 1644. Before the Duke de Medina Celi was made Chief Minister, he was President of the Council; he still retains the Profits as well the Title of it, but he has placed in his room Don Vincente Gonzaga Counsellor of State, by a Commission; he is called the Governor of the Council of the *Indies*.

The Council of Italy.

Charles the Fifth first erected this Council in the year 1555, and afterwards Philip the Second did cast it into a new Form. It is composed of six Councillors and a President, which Office at present is filled by the Duke of Alva of the House of Toledo. They are called Councillors Regent, and there are two for the Affairs of Milan, two for those of Sicily, and two for those of Naples. Of this number three are to be Spaniards, and three Italians.

The last of these reside upon the place where their District is, and have a Fiscal, a Secretary, two Reporters, and four Porters.

The President has no Voice in the Affairs of Justice; his Business is to propose Persons to the King for the Military Employments.

This

This Council takes cognizance of Matters of State, of Grace, and of Justice that lie within the reach of their Jurisdiction, as also of the Affairs of the Treasury. They consult with the King about the disposing of Bishopricks, and places of Justice, as well as those of the Finances and the Civil List; and in short, about all Governments of Places, except some few that belong to the Council of State, as for example the Castle of *Naples* does. They deliberate about the Government of the *Milanese, Naples, and Sicily*.

*The Council of the Finances, named
de Hazienda.*

Philip the Third in the year 1602 established this Council; it consists of four Tribunals, *Don Carlos Ramirez de Attellano* is President of it; eight Councillors of the Sword, and the President compose this Council. Their chief Business lies in the Recovery and Administration of the Finances, in the raising and augmenting of the Rents, Graces, Privileges and Concessions of the King. They make Treaties for defraying the Expence of the Household and of the Armies. When there is occasion for Advance-Money, they are to find out People to do it. The President Signs all the Expeditions alone by himself, after he has received the King's Order, and the Consult of the Council, for all Gratifications, Appointments, Assignments, Profits, Pensions, Ordinances, and Advances of Undertakers.

Their Expeditions are made in two Offices, in each of which there is a Chief Commissary,

ry, two Seconds, and two that are called *Entretenus*.

There are a dozen *Contadores*, that keep the Registers, and Accounts of this Council.

The last *Contador* is called *Ecrivain Major*, which signifies the Register of his Majesty's Rents: They all go to the Council of the Finances, where they cover themselves, after they have stood bare for some time.

They give them a Sign to go, when the Secretaries have a mind to come in. In regard of the Affairs, and Tryals belonging to the Tribunal of the *Oydores*, and the Council of the Finances, there is a great number of inferiour Officers, whose Places are sold, and four Reporters, that are named by the Council.

The Council of the Crusade.

Pope *Julius* the Second in the year 1509 granted the Priviledge of the *Crusade* to the Kings of *Spain*, to make War against the Infidels; the Revenue of it is so considerable, that it brings in several Millions, and in the same year Queen *Joan* and the King her Father, who Governed in her Name, formed and erected the Council of the *Cruzada*.

The President thereof carries the Title of Commissary General, and he is at present Don *Henriquez de Benavides y Bazan*, Patriarch of the *Indies*. It is composed of two Councillors of the Council of *Castile*, and two Regents; one of the Council of *Arragon*, the other of that of the *Indies*, a Fiscal, two Treasurers, a Re-

Reporter, two Registers, and three Solicitors. This Council gives Permission to License or Publish Jubilees, and to Print Books; all the States of his Catholick Majesty are under its Jurisdiction, except those of *Flanders*, *Milan*, and *Naples*, who would never admit of its Authority. They Judge without Appeal.

The Council of Flanders.

Philip the Fourth named the President and Councillors of it in the year 1628. This Council is superiour to all those that are established in *Flanders*: The Prince *de Stillano* was President of it, but the Count *de Monterey* is now preferred to this Post. It consists of no more than three Councillors.

The Council d' Apofento.

Since the first Floor that is raised in all the Houses in *Madrid*, belongs to the King, this Council may Rent it, or Sell it until the Proprietors redeem it. Don *Alonzo*, the Eleventh of that Name, erected in the year 1341 a Junto consisting of a President, who is called the *Aposentador Major*, of six *Aposentadores* of Exercise, (because some others may be admitted into it, if they are Veteranes) of a Fiscal, a Secretary, a Receiver, an Alguazil, and a Porter. This Junto preserves his Majesty's Rights, they take care likewise to lodge the Officers of the King's Household.

The

The Council of the Chamber of Castile.

Queen *Joan* and *Charles* the Fifth her Son, erected this Council in the year 1518. The President of *Castile* is the Chief Man of it, with four Councillors of the same Council, three Secretaries and a Reporter. They meet toward Night on *Mondays* and *Wednesdays* every Week at the President's House, and give him an Account of all the Posts that are to be filled in the two *Castiles*.

They expedite all Remissions, and deliver the Titles to Dukes, Marquesses, Counts, and the Names of the Villages. They likewise look after all the Benefices, that are in the King's Presentation, by the Apostolick Commission.

The Junto de Bosques Reale.

Charles the Fifth established it in the year 1545. It consists of two Councillors, an Alcalde, a Fiscal, and a Secretary. Their Business is to look after the Palace, and the rest of the King's Houses as well in City as in Country, and likewise to take care of his Majesty's Woods.

The

The

The Funto of the Millions.

Philip the Fourth observing that the Council *de Hazienda* was overcharged with Business, in the year 1653 formed a Chamber composed of a President, four Councillors of the Finances, four Commissaries Deputies of the States, a Fiscal, and two Proctors of the Court. This Chamber is called the Tribunal of the Millions, because here they receive the Revenue that arises from Imposts upon Victuals, Oyl, Wine and Vinegar, and amounts to a Prodigious Summ.

The End of the First Part.